

COMMUNITY, CONTINUITY AND CHANGE:
IRISH CATHOLIC IMMIGRANTS
IN
NINETEENTH-CENTURY CHRISTCHURCH

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the historical processes of becoming in the everyday social lives of Irish Catholic immigrants in nineteenth-century Christchurch. My central argument is that these newcomers effected a transition to colonial life by creating and sustaining durable social networks based on ethnic ties which transcended pre-existing affiliations and represented a powerful means to appropriate a new environment. In my introduction, I argue that our limited understanding of settler society has legitimated cultural silences which marginalise the pluralistic experiences of immigrants in nineteenth-century immigrants New Zealand. Chapter One examines the process of migration and the interpersonal networks on which the vast majority of Irish Catholics were reliant for assistance both in moving to and settling in the city and its environs. Chapter Two charts the development of ethnic consciousness among the newcomers, while Chapter Three explores the question of transience and attempts to refute the view that itinerancy and a lack of associative bonds conspired to stunt the emergence of ethnic social relations. Paralleling this line of argument, Chapter Four focuses on the social topography of settlement and uses a variety of sources to demonstrate how newcomers expressed their ethnicity spatially within the city through a process of residential bonding. By contrast, Chapter Five deals with the vexing question of social mobility and seeks to establish whether the popular stereotype of the downtrodden Irish is relevant or applicable to those immigrants who settled in Christchurch. Its findings indicate that Irish Catholics were neither culturally emaciated nor

crippled by persistent poverty in the city but instead made steady but modest gains within a generation. Chapter Six enlarges the analyzable context of the social ties that bound the immigrants to one another through an examination of evidence adduced from wills. In conclusion, I argue that Irish Catholics mobilized and sustained their ethnicity in the city by creating complex associative networks within which they pursued collective and individual goals. Their social agency, I suggest, resided in a capacity for reflexive self-knowledge, along with an ability to alter the circumstances and conditions of their everyday world.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Birth/Death Index	Christchurch Registry Of Births, Deaths And Marriages
<u>CBS</u>	Church Of The Blessed Sacrament
CDA	Christchurch Roman Catholic Diocesan Archives
CM	Canterbury Museum Archives
DDA	Dunedin Roman Catholic Diocesan Archives
ICPS	Inward Correspondence To The Provincial Secretary
MAW	Marist Archives, Wellington
NA-CH	National Archives, Christchurch
NA-W	National Archives, Wellington
<u>RFNZ, 1882</u>	A Return Of The Freeholders Of New Zealand, 1882
<u>SA</u>	Station Of The Assumption
<u>ST</u>	Shand's Track
<u>TR</u>	Testamentary Registers, National Archives, Christchurch
Tr.Bapt.reg.	Baptismal Transcripts, Canterbury Public Library
Tr.Bur.reg.	Burial Transcripts, Canterbury Public Library
Tr.Marr.reg.	Marriage Transcripts, Canterbury Public Library
WAA	Wellington Roman Catholic Archdiocesan Archives



Plate 1 The Grave of Bernard Bryan and Brigid Callaghan, Lincoln Cemetery
Photograph by Lyndon Fraser



Plate 2 The Grave of Patrick and Mary Henley, Lincoln Cemetery
Photograph by Lyndon Fraser

PREFACE

This thesis examines the adaptive strategies and coping mechanisms used by Irish Catholic immigrants in nineteenth-century Christchurch as they sought to gain some measure of control over their lives in a new and uncertain environment "half the world from home". The analysis that follows is an exploratory investigation of cultural persistence and group ties at community level with a primary focus on ethnicity as a basis of social cohesion and collective action. By ethnicity I understand a dynamic, historical phenomenon that is neither ascribed nor fixed but part of a fluid, on-going process in which it is continually reshaped in response to new realities. Ethnicity is a specific type of social and cultural formation, situationally activated and mobilized in the course of daily interaction between immigrants and the host system of receiving societies. And, as such, it constitutes an important resource of immense potentiality that is created, sustained and used by social groupings in order to bring existing circumstances into closer conformity with their own purposes.¹

¹ This approach to the multi-generational phenomenon of ethnicity is moderately "situationalist" in that it allows for the combination of interests with affective ties. See, for example, Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, "Introduction", in Glazer and Moynihan, (eds.), Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 1-26; Daniel Bell, "Ethnicity and Social Change", in Glazer and Moynihan, (eds.), p. 169; Katherine Verdery, "The Unmaking of an Ethnic Collectivity: Transylvania's Germans", American Ethnologist 12 (1985): 62-83; M. Elaine Burgess, "The Resurgence of Ethnicity: Myth or Reality?", Ethnic and Racial Studies 1 (1978): 265-85; James McKay, "An Exploratory Synthesis of Primordial and Mobilizationalist Approaches to Ethnic Phenomena", Ethnic and Racial Studies 5 (1982): 395-420; Victor Greene, For God and Country: The Rise of Polish and Lithuanian Ethnic Consciousness in America, 1860-1910, (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1975).

Throughout this study, I attempt to explain and weigh the historical consequences of ethnicity in terms of continuity and change. There are important reasons why I have taken this approach. One of the major weaknesses of some of the scholarship in immigration and ethnic studies in recent decades has been a failure to impart any sense of the development of ethnic self-understanding, a process that is usually termed *ethnicization*.² Too often historians, in particular, have accorded ethnic collectivities a trans-historical status which obfuscates the possibility of critical analysis. Like class, ethnicity is not a thing. Instead, it is a multi-faceted happening which is embodied in the patterning of human relationships. The development of ethnic consciousness raises important historical questions and demands careful analytic treatment of its origins and expression in social relations.

Ethnicity, in my view, is a product of history, not of nature. It represents a "strategic option" sometimes pursued by real "agential" persons as they endeavour to domesticate and appropriate their spatiotemporal environment.³

I am also indebted to the following studies: Abner Cohen, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); Charles F. Keyes, "Towards a New Formulation of the Concept of Ethnic Group", Ethnicity 3 (1976): 202-13; Susan Olzak, "Contemporary Ethnic Mobilization", Annual Review of Sociology 9 (1983): 355-74; David Horowitz, Ethnic Groups in Conflict (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985); Candace Nelson and Marta Tienda, "The Structuring of Hispanic Ethnicity: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives", Ethnic and Racial Studies 8 (1985): 49-74; Anthony D. Smith, The Ethnic Origins of Nations, (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986).

² William L. Yancey, Eugene P. Ericksen, and Richard N. Juliani, "Emergent Ethnicity: A Review and Reformulation", American Sociological Review 41 (1976): 391-403.

³ Peter K. Eisinger, "Ethnicity as a Strategic Option: An Emerging View", Public Administration Review 38 (1978): 89-93.

Human beings are purposive agents deeply involved in the recursive ordering of lived-through experience. Their actions exist as a continuous process which cannot be disentangled from notions of temporality or historicised without exploring the complex interplay of agency and structure.⁴ By recognising the power humans possess to structure their social world, ethnic solidarity becomes a product of agency as much as conditioning.⁵ Because of its fluidity, however, ethnicity is somewhat elusive and difficult to define with any degree of precision. American sociologist Milton Yinger made a viable attempt when he delineated an ethnic group as "a segment of a larger society whose members are thought by themselves and/or others to have a common origin and to share important segments of a common culture and who in addition, participate in shared activities in which common origin and culture are significant ingredients."⁶ But even this meticulous formulation gives no sense of ethnic group formation and creates the false impression that we are speaking of things that are fixed rather than emergent.

The transition "from immigrants to ethnics" requires critical dialogue with the moment of group *ethnicization*. In carrying out this difficult analytic task, I have tried to avoid the essentialist emphases found in the work of some Irish-

⁴ Anthony Giddens, The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), and New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretive Sociologies, (London: Hutchinson, 1976), pp. 102-29.

⁵ I am indebted here to E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 8.

⁶ J. Milton Yinger, "Ethnicity and Social Change: The Interaction of Structural, Cultural, and Personality Factors", Ethnic and Racial Studies 6 (1983), p. 395.

American chroniclers.⁷ My quarrel with these scholars is that they rest their quasi-mythic sagas on the mistaken assumption Irish emigrants arrived in the New World with a well-developed national spirit and a patterned system of communal affiliation that was either pre-destined or static over time. We cannot take cultural continuity for granted in this way, nor should we attribute innate organisational powers to an underlying subculture. Ethnic identity, after all, is a culturally constructed set of usages adopted by people in their day-to-day relationships with one another and the society around them.⁸ We would do well to remember that it is a contested choice, defined by people as they live their own history, and not, in the final analysis, a primordial "given" of social existence.

The formation of ethnic consciousness is historically grounded and needs to be understood as a matter of process in time. During the activities of resettlement and adaptation migrants negotiate new relationships both within and across their associational networks, greatly transforming pre-existing identities and acquiring new group expressions or definitions. A sense of community based on ethnic criteria is but one possible historical consequence

⁷ See, for example, William V. Shannon, The American Irish, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964); Lawrence J. McCaffrey, "The Irish-American Dimension", in Lawrence J. McCaffrey, Ellen Skerret, Michael J. Funchion, and Charles Fanning, The Irish in Chicago, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), pp. 1-21; Dennis Clark, Erin's Heirs: Irish Bonds of Community, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1991).

⁸ Gordon Darroch, "Half Empty or Half Full? Images and Interpretations in the Historical Analysis of the Catholic Irish in Nineteenth-Century Canada", Canadian Ethnic Studies 25 (1993): 1-8; Kerby M. Miller, "Class, Culture, and Immigrant Group Identity in the United States: The Case of Irish-American Ethnicity", in Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (ed.), Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 98.

flowing from the dynamic conjunction of cultural patterns, social structures and intra-group conflict in the receiving and sending societies.⁹ Rather than the product of quasi-metaphysical determinants, ethnicity is the result of "a process which continues to unfold", and its emergence may have as much to do with collective efforts to cope with new realities as the influence of a common pre-migration heritage.¹⁰

In this study, I argue that the ethnic identities of Irish Catholic immigrants were not set prior to their arrival in colonial Canterbury, nor subsequently washed away by Arcadian notions of extreme individualism. Both history and the changing conditions they encountered impinged upon and created new problems for the newcomers, necessitating a fundamental readjustment of previously held customs, allegiances and values that had been brought to the New World. Immigrants remained firmly attached to familial obligations and responsibilities but responded imaginatively to the tensions engendered by the workings of migration and resettlement by forging durable social networks based on ethnic ties. Although their relationship with the wider colonial culture defies easy categorisation, Irish Catholics constructed a persisting sub-culture in which they maintained themselves as an ethnic world apart. In so doing, they developed a collective identity that fused the potent elements of "Irishness" and "Catholicity".

⁹ Ibid., pp. 97-98.

¹⁰ Yancey, Erickson, and Juliani "Emergent Ethnicity...", p. 400; Greene, For God and Country, pp. 1-13; Jonathan D. Sarna, "From Immigrants to Ethnics: Toward a New Theory of 'Ethnicization'", Ethnicity 5 (1978): 370-78.

To facilitate a wider understanding of the relative nature and degree of this process, I have adopted what Theda Skocpol has termed a "problem-oriented" approach to socio-historical investigation.¹¹ The primary goal of this type of inquiry is not so much to rework an existing macro-theoretical perspective or generate an alternative paradigm, but to develop explanations for historical patterns using whatever theoretical resources are most effective and valid.¹² For this purpose, I found it particularly useful to set my analysis within a broadly comparative framework which contrasts the Irish Catholic experience in Christchurch with that of their contemporaries who emigrated to the United States.¹³

The Irish experience, I believe, cannot be adequately integrated into a provincial, regional or national context, without first recognising that it formed one part of a wider global diaspora which drew several million men and women to various destinations throughout the world. Moreover, the Irish emigrant stream itself constituted only one part of a massive outflow of peoples from Europe, Great Britain, Asia and elsewhere from the second decade of the nineteenth century onwards that in turn needs to be placed within the

¹¹ Theda Skocpol, "Sociology's Historical Imagination", in Theda Skocpol (ed.), Vision and Method in Historical Sociology, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 17-19.

¹² Ibid., p. 17.

¹³ I am indebted here to Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", reprinted in Herbert Moller (ed.), Population Movements in Modern European History, (New York: Macmillan, 1964), pp. 73-92; Samuel L. Bailey, "Cross-Cultural Comparison and the Writing of Migration History. Some Thoughts on How To Study Italians in the New World", in Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (ed.), pp. 241-53.

systematic context of its relationship to a certain kind of evolving political economy--the dynamic of world capitalism.¹⁴ Like their counterparts in Italy, Mexico, Germany and numerous other regions, Irish emigrants shared the need to confront the new economic order and its changing imperatives in a way that provided for their own welfare and that of their kinfolk. They were not drawn at random from the entire population of their sending society, but instead emanated from specific geographical areas and occupational groups already encountering the social transformations catalyzed by industrial capitalism and choosing from available strategies of adaptation, including emigration. In the places to which they came, these newcomers were active participants negotiating contested terrain where outcomes were by no means certain.

An examination of the historical processes of *becoming* in the everyday social lives of Irish Catholic immigrants is central to this study. But it is not my sole purpose. In its larger conceptualization, the interpretation advanced below is deeply influenced by the insights and concerns of various scholars working within relational-structurist and symbolic-realist traditions.¹⁵ These

¹⁴ John E. Bodnar, "Introduction", in The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), pp. xv-xxi.

¹⁵ For a useful overview and critique of these traditions, see Christopher Lloyd, Explanation in Social History, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986). pp. 263-312. Symbolic realism is an interpretive approach to understanding of culture and society which is deeply influenced by phenomenological and hermeneutical traditions in philosophy. Its general orientation is toward a view of human beings as purposive agents, living according to rules, interacting through shared meanings, and continuously structuring their social world. By contrast, the term relational-structurism encompasses a more diverse group of scholars influenced by Karl Marx, but also Max Weber and Jean Piaget. Notwithstanding the diffuse nature of this tradition and differences in emphasis, its practitioners are ontological realists in relation to social structure, structurists about

approaches, it seems to me, elucidate the complex relationship between subjective understandings, human agency and objective social reality in such a way that the history of society is perceived as the result of human structuring power that is always culturally conditioned and mediated. Both traditions demonstrate a keen awareness of the need for explicit models, concepts and theories for the explanation of structural transformation and the shaping of action by all levels of society. At the same time, a general solution to the micro/macro socio-economic problem is posed through a fundamental insistence that human agency is never completely free, but always constrained and enabled by its structural and ideological context, and the experience of the actor.¹⁶ Because it holds that the relationship between personal activity and social organization has its real existence in the continuous process of construction in time, this type of social analysis avoids a troubling retreat into

methodology, and agentialists about the explanation of social change.

In particular, I have found the works of the following scholars especially stimulating: Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight", in Chandra Mukerji and Michael Schudson, (eds.), Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives in Cultural Studies, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 239-77; Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Carnival in Romans, (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1979); Rom Harré, "Architectonic Man: On the Structuring of Lived Experience", in Richard Harvey Brown and Stanford M. Lyman, (eds.), Structure, Consciousness and History, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 139-72; E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, and "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism", Past and Present 38 (1967): 56-97; E.J. Hobsbawm, "Marx and History", New Left Review 143 (1984): 39-50.

¹⁶ Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon", in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works, Volume I., (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1950), p. 225.

"an empty universe of signs".¹⁷ It recognises the historically determined assumptions and limitations of scholarship, but nonetheless wages "a struggle for the real" in which a central task is to discover how an increasing understanding of human society can be achieved.¹⁸

My own contribution, therefore, does not form part of a discourse that is *sui generis*, with subject matter or techniques in some way distinct from and unrelated to the discourses of other disciplines.¹⁹ It is clear that there has recently been a "blurring of genres" in the humanities which has significantly narrowed the gap separating history and sociology, prompting the publication of various scholarly manifestos advocating the theoretical and methodological unity between the two disciplines.²⁰ Responding to these changing frames of reference, this study represents a contribution to a wider continuing socio-historical discourse that is concerned with the nature of society and shifting relationship between the production and reproduction of social life by its

¹⁷ Giddens, The Constitution of Society, p. xxiii; Bryan D. Palmer, Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990).

¹⁸ Clifford Geertz, "The Struggle For The Real", in Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 90-117.

¹⁹ This is a point well made by Lloyd, Explanation, pp. 22-23.

²⁰ See, for example, Skocpol, "Sociology's Historical Imagination", pp. 1-21; Fernand Braudel, On History, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1980), pp. 64-82; E.J. Hobsbawm, "The Contribution of History to Social Science", International Social Science Journal 32 (1981): 624-40; Philip Abrams, "History, Sociology, Historical Sociology", Past and Present 87 (1980): 3-16, and Historical Sociology, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1982); Christopher Lloyd, "The Methodologies of Social History: A Critical Survey and Defense of Structurism", History and Theory 30 (1991): 180-219.

constituent actors. Its perspective is microscopic in emphasis and performance, and it requires the apprehension of persons as agential, social beings who structure the world through their intentional action but who in turn have their action structured by the social world. Such an approach endeavours to link persons and structures together in such a way that action can be explained with reference to structural imperatives and constraints, and structure and its history are explainable as the intended and unintended consequences of individual actions and patterned behaviour over time. Anthony Giddens has termed this process "structuration" and developed a formidable body of sociological writing explicating its central tenets and underlining its explanatory power.²¹

A key feature of the structurant conception of socio-historical inquiry is the notion of "structuring" which connects the everyday world of beliefs, routines and mundane activities with the social environment. From this

²¹ Giddens, New Rules of Sociological Method, pp. 102-29, 155-62, and Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory, (London: Macmillan Press, 1982), pp. 1-17, 28-39. Giddens's most complete explication of the theory of structuration is to be found in The Constitution of Society.

Similar approaches have been advocated or incorporated in the works of Eric Hobsbawm, Edward Thompson, Herbert Gutman and Clifford Geertz. See, for example, E.J. Hobsbawm, "Karl Marx's Contribution to Historiography", in Robin Blackburn, (ed.), Ideology in Social Science: Readings in Critical Social Theory, (Bungay: Fontana, 1972), pp. 265-83, and "The Contribution of History to Social Science", *passim*; E.P. Thompson, "The Poverty of Theory: Or an Orrery of Errors", in The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays, (London: Monthly Review Press, 1978); Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrialising America, 1815-1919", American Historical Review 78 (1973): 531-88; Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures, (New York: Basic Books, 1973). See also James Henretta, "Social History as Lived and Written", American Historical Review 84 (1979): 1293-333.

It is significant that E.P. Thompson noted in the preface to The Making of the English Working Class, that "[the] book has a clumsy title, but it has one which meets its purpose. Making, because it is a study in an active process, which owes as much to agency as conditioning. The working class did not rise like the sun at an appointed time. It was present at its own making." p. 8.

perspective, the organisation of social practices is seen as fundamentally recursive in that structure is both the medium and the outcome of the practices it recursively organises.²² Hence the social environment is both constraining and enabling, for it must be collectively reproduced by social actors but has the potential to be transformed into a different structure by their actions.²³

Structuration theory acknowledges the need for a "de-centring" of the subject but insists upon the recovery of that subject as a reasoning, acting being capable of manipulating or transforming their social environment.²⁴

²² Giddens terms this the "duality of structure"; see Giddens Profiles and Critiques, pp. 36-39, and The Constitution of Society, p. 374.

There are strong affinities between the conceptualisation of structure in the work of Giddens and that delineated by the Swiss philosopher, biologist and psychologist Jean Piaget, who argued in Structuralism, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971) that structures contain three fundamental properties--wholeness, transformation and self-regulation: "It is the constant duality, or bipolarity, of always being simultaneously structuring and structured that accounts for the success of the notion of law or rule employed by structuralists. Like Cournot's 'order' (a special case of the structures treated in modern algebra), a structure's laws of composition are defined 'implicitly' i.e. as governing the transformations of the system which they structure...Indeed, all known structures--from mathematical groups to kinship systems--are, without exception, systems of transformation." [pp. 10-11]. While Piaget held that structures are constituted by elements which are subordinated to the laws of the whole, his approach differed markedly from that of "holistic structuralists" such as the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss in that he addressed himself directly the question of genesis--the relationship between structure and its construction: "Whereas other animals cannot alter themselves except by changing their species man can transform himself by transforming the world and can structure himself by constructing structures; and these structures are his own, for they are not eternally predestined either from within or from without." [pp. 118-19].

²³ For a critique and reformulation of Giddens's notion of the "duality of structure", see William H. Sewell, "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation", American Journal of Sociology 98 (1992): 1-29.

²⁴ Giddens, Profiles and Critiques, p. 8; Giddens, The Constitution of Society, p. xxiii: "I acknowledge the call for a decentring of the subject and regard this as basic to structuration theory. But I do not accept that this implies

Closely related to the reciprocity of social agents and social environment is what Giddens terms the "dialectic of control", whereby the ability of persons to alter their situation significantly rests upon their degree of autonomy and dependence within a given society.²⁵ In nineteenth-century Christchurch, the creative freedom of Irish Catholics was initially curtailed, particularly by their social status, though not to the same extent as their counterparts who sailed to the United States. As long as they remained agents participating in the dialectic of control, however, they had the opportunity of turning their relative "weakness back against the powerful", and by so doing to build lives of their own.²⁶

In accordance with the analytical demands of a structurist approach, this study endeavours to illuminate the concrete processes of social life in which human actions take place. It is only by charting the everyday experiences of people over a considerable historical period that we can discern new emerging social configurations and the manner in which they affect the subjective understandings of the actors. For this reason, I have consistently located the process of structuration within the concrete activities that formed a part of the

the evaporation of subjectivity into an empty universe of signs. Rather, social practices, biting into space and time, are considered to be at the root of the constitution of both subject and social object." Thus neither subject nor object should be regarded as having primacy, as each is constituted in and through recurrent practices.

²⁵ Giddens, Profiles and Critiques, pp. 36-39.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

durée of the immigrants' day-to-day existence.²⁷ This level of time has strong affinities with Fernand Braudel's *longue durée* and triadic temporal scheme. In his discussion of Mediterranean historical evolution and everyday life Braudel distinguished between three dimensions of historical time: the "individual" dimension in which change is rapid, occasionally dramatic but invariably episodic; the "social" in which the velocity of change is modulated by the slow pace of everyday; and the "geographic" in which change, created by such natural factors as climate, occurs so slowly and in such a diffuse manner that it is almost imperceptible.²⁸ While Braudel probably never intended that these dimensions of time were to be conceived separately, I have found it useful to place emerging patterns of social relations among the immigrants and the corresponding transformations in consciousness as these were manifested in their everyday cultural practices at the level of social time.

To trace these social processes effectively means negotiating the "thick territory" of the social world where humans are to be found "waist deep in daily routine": the securement of a nominated passage, the text of a will, the birth and baptism of a child. Entering the immigrant world in this way is to penetrate

²⁷ Alfred Schutz, "On Multiple Realities", Philosophy and Phenomenological Research 5 (1945): 533-76.

²⁸ Fernand Braudel, The Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, 2 vols., (London: 1972), pp. 20-22, 901-03; Braudel, On History, pp. 67-69, 74.

For a powerful critique of Braudel's conception of structure, see U. Santamaria and Anne Bailey, "A Note on Braudel's Structure As Duration", History and Theory 23 (1984): 78-83. A more appreciative view is proffered by K.N. Chaudhuri, "Introduction--Fernand Braudel and 'Asia Before Europe': a tribute, recollections, and a dialogue", in Asia Before Europe: Economy and Civilization of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 3-18.

the realm of lived experience, to chart the hidden recesses of concrete practices routinely undertaken in the *durée* of daily social life. At this level it is human experience, mediating between social being and social consciousness, that gives culture, values, habits and thoughts their distinctive colouration.²⁹ And, it is here that I have situated the men and women who are the subjects of this study, and who, though not fully autonomous, were nonetheless capable human beings, "the voluntary agents of [their] own involuntary determinations."³⁰

The main sources on which I have based my interpretation are the vital events records of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths and Marriages, which were buttressed by supporting evidence drawn from parish registers, probate files, genealogies, street directories and various archival repositories. These records provided invaluable biographical details about individual immigrants that would otherwise remain foreclosed to researchers working without the benefit of a surviving manuscript census. The accessibility of the extant listings greatly facilitated the study of aspects of the Irish Catholic experience by allowing familial groupings to be reconstituted and followed through time.³¹ Moreover, they generated sufficient empirical information for the purposes of abstracting

²⁹ E.P. Thompson, The Poverty of Theory, p. 98.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³¹ On the techniques of family reconstitution, see E.A. Wrigley, "Family Reconstitution", in An Introduction to English Historical Demography, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp. 96-159; René Leboutte, George Alter, and Myron Gutmann, "Analysis of Reconstituted Families: A Package of SAS Programs", Historical Methods Newsletter 20 (1987): 29-34.

I am indebted to Dr. Maureen Molloy of Auckland University, New Zealand, for her helpful advice in this area.

general statements about the structural features of the group's everyday life, notwithstanding a degree of ambiguity in the identification of individuals.

At the outset of my research programme I made a decision to bring this documentation together through the systematic and time-consuming method of record linkage.³² By continually augmenting the evidentiary base from which I was working in this way, I found that it was possible to illuminate previously assembled data and create new contexts within which the structural involvements of historical actors could be understood. As my research progressed further, it became clear that reconstructed groupings were not simply aggregations of individuals but segments of a complex, densely-layered ethnic network with extraordinary durability fused together by shared understandings and a sense of reciprocity. The internal connections forged within this gradually expanding data set revealed the persistence of deeply-embedded social ties based on ethnicity and kinship that functioned in such a way as to impart a very real sense of communal spirit among Irish Catholic immigrants in the region.

This thesis consists of eight chapters. In my introduction, I argue that our understanding of settler society in nineteenth-century New Zealand has been impoverished by a tendency to reduce the migrant stream to a homogenised, undifferentiated mass. Such a view, which has been reproduced

³² On record linkage, see Christian Pouyez, Raymond Roy and Francois Martin, "The Linkage of Census Name Data: Problems and Procedures", Journal of Interdisciplinary History 14 (1983): 129-52; Andrejs Plakans, Kinship in the Past: An Anthropology of European Family Life, 1500-1900, (New York: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1984), pp. 51-75.

effortlessly and uncritically within a political context stressing bi-culturalism, denies the existence and persistence of a plurality of ethno-religious cultures in the past. An unintended consequence of this writing has been to impose cultural silences which effectively marginalise the disparate experiences of the immigrant rank-and-file.

Chapter One examines the process of migration and the interpersonal networks on which the vast majority of Irish Catholics were reliant for assistance both in moving to and settling in the city and its environs. To determine the significant features of the migrant stream, its composition and demographic characteristics, I carried out a prosopographical study of 1434 immigrants whose deaths were registered at Christchurch between the years 1876-1918. This analysis suggests that the movement of Irish Catholics to the city was both highly structured and highly selective in relation to its points of origin and destination. The existence and centrality of dense, interpenetrative associative networks constituted a key organizational influence which partly shaped the nature of the inflow, notwithstanding the effects of government selection practices and policies.

Chapter Two charts the development of ethnic consciousness among the newcomers as they collectively made a transition "from immigrants to ethnics". Essentially, I argue that the process of ethnicization was a complex phenomenon shaped partly by the interaction of various elements within the immigrant group, and partly by the impact of a colonial setting on immigrant thought and behaviour. In particular, I point to the presence of intra-group conflict over the provision of Irish priests and a bitter dispute about clerical

control of church affairs as crucial factors in heightening ethnic awareness. These sources of internal friction served an integrative function because they effectively deepened the involvement of migrants in Irish ethnicity. As a consequence, the Catholic Irish discarded narrow regional affiliations or village loyalties and began to perceive themselves in terms of a broad national grouping that received expression in personal relationships, religious practices and institutional separatism.

Chapter Three explores the question of transience and attempts to trace the dimensions of community, refuting the view that itinerancy and a lack of associative bonds conspired to stunt the emergence of ethnicity. Irish Catholics were indeed highly mobile but transience was neither an entirely fortuitous action nor an essentially individualistic mechanism of self-improvement. On the contrary, newcomers relied heavily on strong kinship and ethnic networks both during their migration and following their arrival in the colony. They did not eschew these ties in the course of subsequent movements. Moreover, a solid core of stable residential households remained in Christchurch, notwithstanding extensive geographic mobility. By electing to stay in the city, persisters provided sufficient continuity and cohesiveness for the creation of a comprehensive structure of parish organizations and ethnic institutions, including parochial schools, sodalities and confraternities.

Chapter Four focuses on the social topography of settlement and uses a variety of sources to indicate how Irish Catholics expressed their ethnicity spatially within the city through a process of residential bonding. The analyses of micro-level data presented here suggest that the close proximity of kinfolk or

friends, together with the attraction of parochial institutions, were formative influences in the residential decision-making of immigrants as they sought to deal with everyday life. This structured spatial configuration enabled newcomers to infuse unfamiliar surroundings with some degree of meaning and coherence, sustaining a sense of continuity with Old World affinities and influencing forms of institutional reproduction. Through the purposeful patterning of their physical environment, immigrants defined themselves as a distinctive ethnic community that was both "Irish" and "Catholic".

By contrast, Chapter Five deals with the vexing question of social mobility and seeks to establish whether the popular stereotype of the downtrodden Irish is relevant or applicable to those immigrants who settled in Christchurch. Its findings indicate that Irish Catholics were neither culturally emaciated nor crippled by persistent poverty in the city and in fact made steady but modest gains within a generation. To support this view, I proffer analyses of occupational ranking and wealth-holding, both of which reinforce the impression that proprietorship, and the security it implied, was a major goal for Irish newcomers. The explanatory power of this hypothesis is further enhanced when one considers that the evidence for immigrant economic advancement relates to a period of severe economic downturn in the local economy.

Chapter Six enlarges the analyzable context of the social ties that bound the immigrants to one another through an examination of evidence adduced from wills. I argue that although the connections which bound the Catholic Irish to the past and to one another expanded in colonial society, patterns of association that were catalyzed during the course of this transition were

invariably narrow and seldom extended beyond the confines of ethnicity. In short, the novel circumstances which they encountered in Canterbury promoted a reliance on newly constructed ethnic networks and forms of social interaction based upon a perception of being somehow different and separate from their host society.

In concluding this explanatory account, I argue that Irish Catholics mobilized and sustained their ethnicity by creating complex networks of solidarities and associations within which they pursued collective goals and purposes. On this view, ethnic mutualism was a powerful resource actualized in patterned social action across an indeterminate number of contexts. It represented a creative response to colonial exigencies and found expression in new social arrangements of rules, roles and relations. These shared forms of life not only empowered and constrained social action, but were, in turn, reproduced by that action. The social agency of Irish Catholic immigrants, I suggest, resided in their collective capacity for reflexive self-knowledge, along with an ability to alter the circumstances and conditions of their everyday world.

INTRODUCTION

Irish Catholics and other white ethnics have received little note from New Zealand historians, despite the visibility and longevity of the institutional organisations and social networks that they created and sustained in New Zealand during the colonial period. Apart from a few isolated studies, a consciousness of ethnic and religious pluralism has not loomed as large in the writing of New Zealand history as it has in the United States, where immigration historiography in recent decades has effected a major reorientation away from the assimilating individual to an emphasis on the enduring group.¹ In general, local scholars have displayed a marked reluctance to examine the forms of ethnic culture that emerged from the interaction of Old World patterns and the unfamiliar circumstances of a new society. Cultural homogeneity, it has been assumed, was one of the hallmarks of white settler society, and cultural differences, where they existed, were insignificant and had no enduring consequences.²

¹ Clyde Griffen, "Towards an Urban Social History for New Zealand", New Zealand Journal of History 20 (1986): 111-31.

² Notable exceptions to the general historiographical pattern are Richard P. Davis, Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics, 1868-1922, (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1974); K.A. Pickens, "Canterbury 1851-1881: Demography and Mobility. A Comparative Study", Ph.D thesis, Washington University, St. Louis, 1976; Rollo Arnold, The Farthest Promised Land: English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s, (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1981); Rory Sweetman, "The Irish in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand", in Antonia J. Jones (ed.), Under The Southern Cross, (Hamilton: New Zealand Society of Genealogists, 1983). pp. 266-71. Raewyn Dalziel, "Emigration and Kinship: Migrants to New Plymouth 1840-1843", New Zealand Journal of History 25 (1991): 112-28. See also, James Ng, Windows on a Chinese Past, Volume I., (Dunedin: Otago Heritage Books, 1993); James Bade (ed.), The German

This narrow interpretive framework posits an over-generalised and misleading construction of immigration history that projects a present day obsession with bi-culturalism onto the past. By depicting the various peoples of the British Isles as one people, historical discourse has effectively foreclosed the possibility that adaptive ethnic cultures might have exhibited a high degree of persistence in a colonial environment. As a result of this mind-set, the Irish immigrants, their mentalities, institutions, identities, and values have been marginalised and allowed to merge imperceptibly into the mists of time. We need not acquiesce in the cultural silences legitimated by the forces and pressures of dominant discursive practices. What is presently required, I would suggest, is a more self-conscious effort by historians to uncover and articulate the social context of the lives of nineteenth-century immigrants which has hitherto remained undescribed or described only superficially. By writing immigrant-centred history that gives explanatory primacy to the perceptions,

Connection: New Zealand and German-speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century, (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993).

By contrast, there is a rich social science literature on ethnicity in New Zealand. It is impossible to list more than a small fraction of these studies here, but see the works cited in Andrew Trlin and Paul Spoonley (eds.) New Zealand International Migration: A Digest and Bibliography, (Palmerston North: Department of Sociology, Massey University, 1986-1992). In particular, see K.W. Thompson and A.D. Trlin (eds.), Immigrants in New Zealand, (Palmerston North: Massey University, 1970); I.H. Burnley, "German Immigration and Settlement in New Zealand, 1842-1914", New Zealand Geographer 29 (1973): 45-63; Paul Spoonley (ed.), Tauiwi: Racism and Ethnicity in New Zealand, (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1984); Maureen Molloy, "'No Inclination To Mix With Strangers': Marriage Patterns Among Highland Scots Migrants to Cape Breton and New Zealand, 1800-1916", Journal of Family History 11 (1986): 221-43, and "Kinship, Authority, and Transitions to Adulthood: the Highland Scots at Waipu, New Zealand, 1854-1914", Journal of Social History 22 (1989): 487-506; David G. Pearson, A Dream Deferred: The Origins of Ethnic Conflict in New Zealand, (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1990).

motivations and experiences of real, "agential" people who shaped their lives within existing structural conditions and constraints it will be possible to enhance our understanding of hidden aspects of our past. Such an agenda would yield fresh insights and challenge existing assumptions.

In a recent exploratory study that surveys the broad outlines of the Irish experience in New Zealand, Donald Akenson has issued a call to a new generation of historians to recover what they can of the world they have lost and in so doing overcome the cultural amnesia--the collective memory loss--that stands between our time and the past.³ Lamenting what he views as the pervasive inwardness of New Zealand historiography, he suggests that its general thrust has paradoxically given extension to a form of English cultural imperialism now quite dead in the British Isles. While conceding that white New Zealanders eventually produced a national cultural identity during a long and complex process, Akenson argues that by continuing to lump all white settlers into a "spurious unity" we are merely responding to a restrictive bi-cultural dualism that impinges upon a potentially open pluralism and leads to a chronic misreading of nineteenth-century social history.⁴ New Zealand in the past, he claims, was multi- or poly-cultural, a contention he supports by reference to the persistence of Irish Catholics, who, by refusing to go away, attest to the

³ Donald Harman Akenson, Half The World From Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand, 1860-1950, (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

continuing significance of ethnicity from the mid-nineteenth-century to the present.⁵

In the concluding chapter to his work, fittingly entitled "Jobs Undone", Akenson outlines a myriad of approaches and methods, such as collective biographies and community studies, that would prove useful to researchers investigating elements of the Irish experience in New Zealand. Viewing ethnicity as historically consequential, he suggests that the concept may provide an indispensable tool on those occasions where "a given historical picture, a specific train of events, a complex network of affiliations" can be understood only by introducing it as an explanatory factor.⁶ At the very heart of his envisioned research programme, then, is a hope that New Zealand historians will begin to examine the parameters of ethnic history as part of a larger programme--the study of demotic culture.

The path of scholars willing to answer Akenson's clarion call affirmatively has met a formidable obstacle in the shape of Miles Fairburn's impressive treatise, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies*.⁷ Purporting to define the fundamental characteristics of nineteenth-century colonial society, Fairburn has proffered a general theory about its typicalities that is skilfully argued and buttressed with a mass of evidential detail. In his quest to identify and integrate those things which were distinctive to the colonial social pattern

⁵ Ibid., p. 196.

⁶ Ibid., p. 203.

⁷ Miles Fairburn, The Ideal Society and its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850-1900, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989).

within a rational-explanatory framework, he eschews more familiar analytical categories such as ethnicity, class and gender. Instead, he focuses explicitly on the colony's social organisation--"the fabric of interpersonal relationships, the sorts of ties people formed, the settings and institutions which bonded them together and through which they interacted".⁸

Essentially, Fairburn argues that colonial New Zealand was a minimally organised society characterised by atomization, bondlessness, and extreme individualism. This gravely deficient framework of association accounted for a large cluster of traits and trends which characterised the colonial social pattern, some of which were pathological, while others were benign and healthy. The weakness of social ties produced predictable problems of an appalling nature that came to be expressed in high rates of loneliness, drunkenness and interpersonal conflict. Yet, at the same time, it contributed to a low propensity for group or organised confrontation and status competition, a comparatively high standard of living, and a strong attachment to family life. Atomization, then, was the key feature of a society with faults that were largely the unintended consequences of the unfettered individualism to which its members so passionately subscribed. The lesson of New Zealand's colonial experience, he suggests, is that "the real enemy of the Arcadian ideal society is Arcadia itself".⁹

Initial reaction to the atomization thesis has been a mixture of measured praise and vehement hostility. While most reviewers seem to have been

⁸ Ibid., p. 11.

⁹ Ibid., p. 270.

impressed by the rigour of Fairburn's analysis and the clarity of his argument, many questioned whether the atomism model adequately captured the defining core of the colonial social pattern and its meaning.¹⁰ Was a greater degree of social interaction and community in colonial New Zealand concealed by his pre-occupation with national aggregates?¹¹ Just as he had predicted in the introduction to his book, Fairburn encountered strenuous resistance to the interpretation he had advanced. Some commentators proclaimed that Fairburn's perspective was "essentially a male centred one" which excluded the experience of "Pakeha" women and Maori, both male and female.¹² More pertinent critical appraisal centred on the manner in which Fairburn had utilised

¹⁰ James Belich, "Review", Journal of Social History 24 (1991): 672-5; John E. Martin, "Review", People's History, Newsletter of the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Number 3 (1990): 5-8; Erik Olssen, "Review", International Review of Social History 35 (1990): 281-3; Alan Ward, "Review Article", New Zealand Journal of History 24 (1990): 74-77.

¹¹ Raewyn Dalziel argued it was "essential that historians look at the people behind the figures, if they [were] to understand the meaning of the figures." See Raewyn Dalziel, "Emigration", p. 128.

¹² See Graeme Dunstall and Tom Brooking, in "Miles Fairburn's Ideal Society and its Enemies as an Approach to Pakeha Settler Society", New Zealand Historical Association Newsletter, no. 3, December 1991, pp. 13, 15. Both Dunstall and Brooking invite the rebuttal that most Maori lived apart from Pakeha settlements and therefore cannot be considered part of settler society, the entity which forms the subject-matter of the book. Fairburn makes this very clear in his introduction: "Little attention is given to Maori society...Its social organisation was obviously and markedly different and separate from the European; and although this suggests a fruitful comparison between the two within the context of the history of race relations, it would be beyond the scope of this book." The Ideal Society, p. 15.

See also Caroline Daley, "Taradale Meets The Ideal Society and its Enemies", New Zealand Journal of History 25 (1991): 129-46. Daley's suggestion that women in frontier New Zealand "were the community" is demolished by Fairburn in his essay, "A Discourse On Critical Method", New Zealand Journal of History 25 (1991), pp. 171-76.

evidence to deny the existence of cohesive local communities, strong kinship ties, and neighbourhood co-operation.¹³ To what extent were there differences in the types of social organisation among regions, localities and social groups? Such was the level of interest in the claims made by *The Ideal Society* that an entire issue of the *New Zealand Journal of History* was devoted to discussions of the atomization thesis. Despite persistent criticism of his work, Fairburn stands by the general theory it puts forward and has replied to his critics with a vigorous defence of his methods and conclusions.¹⁴

The notion of atomism is highly problematic for historians keen to incorporate the social phenomenon of ethnicity into an analysis of the Irish Catholic experience in New Zealand. In Fairburn's account, settler society is located within a hermetically sealed world that is at the same time created and sustained by a single structural factor--the frontier--where human agency appears only as the determined outcome of the new environment.¹⁵ Equally,

¹³ See, especially, Clyde Griffen, "Fairburn's New Zealand From a Vantage of North American Studies", *New Zealand Journal of History* 25 (1991): 98-111; Rollo Arnold, "Community in Rural Victorian New Zealand", *New Zealand Journal of History* 24 (1990): 3-21.

¹⁴ Fairburn, "A Discourse", pp. 158-77.

¹⁵ See K.A. Pickens, "The Writing of New Zealand History: A Kuhnian Perspective", *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand* 17 (1977): 384-98. It is noteworthy that the main premise of Keith Sinclair's *A History Of New Zealand* (Auckland; Penguin Books, 1959) was that New Zealanders were the product of their environment rather than their history, a position which has strong affinities with the work of Frederick Jackson Turner. W.H. Oliver, on the other hand, stressed the received and English nature of New Zealand's life and culture while demolishing the Wakefieldian mythology of sober labourers and cultivated landowners in *The Story of New Zealand* (London: 1960). Keith Pickens argues persuasively that these interpretations created a choice for New Zealand historians between "a radical reinterpretation of New Zealand's past, predicated on a thoroughgoing process of change, and a moderate restatement

there is, at a certain point, a sense of absurdity in the view that nineteenth-century New Zealanders were a cultureless people.¹⁶ While it is plausible to explicate the underlying typicalities of colonial society, Fairburn's interpretation is ultimately impoverished because it ignores the richness of immigrant cultures and in so doing perpetuates their marginality. By treating the settlers as an undifferentiated mass and taking the nation as the natural focus for understanding the past, he has not moved us away from the assumptions of the so-called "national paradigm". Although our past is essentially unified and not simply an aggregation of discrete fragments, New Zealand has multiple histories, each of which cannot be explained only in terms of what happened here. The task before us is surely to look at other cases and discover different outcomes--to see wholes and compare parts. If we are to understand more about the cultural resources that various immigrant groups brought with them to the colony, then we need to overcome national particularism and demonstrate a better developed awareness of alternatives, including categories of questions evolved in other historiographical and interdisciplinary contexts.

For this reason, I have endeavoured to remain true to the ideals of an

doctrinaire schemes of settlement, and one that was permissive, allowing a dominant Englishness to be stamped on the land; between an interpretation of New Zealand's history that was distinctly Turnerian and one that was recognisably Hartzian." pp. 386-87.

¹⁶ Jock Phillips, "Of Verandahs and Fish and Chips and Footie on Saturday Afternoon", New Zealand Journal of History 24 (1990), pp. 132-33.

approach termed *histoire comparée* by the French historian Marc Bloch.¹⁷ Historical comparison, as envisioned by Bloch and explicated by Raymond Grew, is not so much a systematic method of analysis or a new type of historical investigation, as an effort to think comparatively, and to compare histories a little more consciously and on a somewhat broader plane.¹⁸ When used deliberately in ethnic studies it can provide invaluable assistance in establishing that there is something to be explained--perhaps a contingency or a configuration that has not previously been explored. It is a "utilitarian tool" that allows the historian to ask appropriate questions, to identify historical problems and to devise a research strategy from which significant conclusions can be supported. Furthermore, it furnishes a much needed corrective to the type of national particularism that too often afflicts historical writing in the United States and New Zealand. Comparison permits evaluation of the reception accorded immigrant groups in receiving nations and the adaptive strategies they pursued in the course of their adjustment to new milieux, turning the liability of a focus on a single ethnic group into an asset.

Just as Bloch had found in relation to his own work on the enclosure movement in Europe, the sole advantage I derived from this approach was that my familiarity with the vast secondary literature on North American immigration

¹⁷ Marc Bloch, "Toward a Comparative History of European Societies", in Frederic C. Lane and Jelle C. Riemersma (eds.), Enterprise and Secular Change: Readings in Economic History, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1953), pp. 494-521.

¹⁸ Raymond Grew, "The Case for Comparing Histories", American Historical Review 85 (1980): 763-78.

helped build up materials for broader-based comparisons.¹⁹ In relation to the United States, I considered it noteworthy that Irish migrants frequently suffered from acute symptoms of atomism, including loneliness, drunkenness and so on, yet they used informal and personal networks that reinforced or replicated customary associational ties and provided a means with which to deal with the exigencies of American life. To have ignored this suggestive pattern of associative networking based on intense ethnic consciousness would have prevented the formulation of useful hypotheses and questions based on analogies which seemed capable of taking my research in new directions. How did those Irish emigrants who eschewed North America for settlement in nineteenth-century Canterbury form a workable Catholic identity within a larger society ordered by Anglo-Protestant values? Were they torn in this quest between the everyday realities they encountered in the colony and the imagined securities, communal ideals and emotional bonds of their past? Was this dilemma resolved creatively, as it was in the United States, by an increasing reliance on patterns of social interaction and institutional affiliation which replicated associative networks analogous to those left behind in Ireland? Without comparison the meaningful patterns and strategies employed by Irish Catholics in their day-to-day lives in Christchurch and its environs would have remained unintelligible or at least seriously undeveloped in this study.

The task of blending a comparative approach with local detail did not involve the uncritical acceptance of imported models. In this respect, I found it necessary to avoid the powerful, popularised image of the Irish emigrant as a

¹⁹ Bloch, p. 501.

passive victim, uprooted by the Great Famine and forced to eke out a meagre existence within the confines of the urban ghetto, which has tended to colour the background to an examination of the group's adjustment to a new environment. This is particularly true of U.S. historiography, which, until quite recently, equated the term "Catholic" with "Irish", thereby excluding patterns of Protestant emigration and obscuring the possibility of rural settlement.²⁰

In the work of Oscar Handlin the Irish have been depicted as broken and bewildered, trapped by the urban transformation of the nineteenth century which relegated them to the slums of large cities.²¹ Destined to supply a vast fund of unskilled labour, and deprived of the opportunity for choice, these peasant Irish newcomers were immobile, resigned to remaining fixed where they were under the constant threat of periodic unemployment. In the urban ghettos to which they were confined relationships became less binding, behaviour was dependent on individual whim and standards wavered. The disorganising

²⁰ Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornstein, "Ethnicity and Occupational Structure in Canada in 1871: The Vertical Mosaic in Historical Perspective", Canadian Historical Review 61 (1980): 305-33; Donald Akenson, Being Had: Historians, Evidence and the Irish in North America, (Toronto: 1985), pp. 37-75, 189-97; Akenson, Half the World from Home, pp. 58-59; Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History, (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), pp. 344-53.

For a spirited response to Akenson's revisionist challenge, see David Noel Doyle, "The Irish as Urban Pioneers in the United States, 1850-1870", Journal of American Ethnic History 10 (1991): 36-59.

²¹ Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants 1790-1865: A Study in Acculturation (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959). See also, William V. Shannon, The American Irish, pp. 27-46; Thomas Sowell, Ethnic America: A History (New York: Basic Books, 1981), pp. 17-42. Sowell maintains that the Irish did not have the skills needed to farm in the harsh American environment. The isolation implied by most types of American farming was foreign to their "gregarious nature" and represented the loss of opportunity to attend a Catholic church.

pressure of the industrial environment, symbolised by the factory and its intrinsically meaningless activities, induced pauperism, insanity, intemperance and prostitution. New conditions dissolved the old ties of their peasant past, slighting traditional obligations and creating a loss of continuity between the callings of one generation and the next. Prone to drunkenness and given to blarney, the Irish could not bridge the massive distance that had been placed between new realities and former ideals. Their journey into the American mainstream was rooted in tragic origins, accompanied by the disruption of traditional communities, and paid for in heavy human costs entailing the debasement of personality and the deterioration of culture.²²

Despite rigorous scholarly revision of this paradigm in recent years, its popular appeal has proven difficult to dislodge. Perhaps it was almost inevitable that the spectre of cultural debility which has tainted so much of the American writing on the Irish should hang heavily over Kerby Miller's widely acclaimed study, *Emigrants and Exiles*.²³ Published in 1985 and granted the Merle Curti Award of the Organisation of American Historians for best social history in that year, the outstanding strength of this massive tome was that it covered the entire migration experience. Miller's signal triumph lay essentially in his ability to integrate both the Irish and American end of the immigrant story into a connecting picture that inextricably linked whole processes of emigration,

²² The Irish, Handlin argued, "suffered a thorough-going physical metamorphosis, eventually reflected in an equally complete change in character and thought, and leaving in its wake the necessity for a radically different cultural orientation." *Boston's Immigrants*, p. 123.

²³ Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

settlement and re-adjustment. The text's narrative structure contains an impressive, densely layered analysis of the collision between the realities of the New World and the continuities of the Old.

The controversy that has arisen around *Emigrants and Exiles* relates to whether, in fact, the Irish in North America displayed a distinctive cultural disposition which affected their adjustment to a new environment in material and psychological terms. The main contention of *Emigrants and Exiles* is that collectively and individually the Irish--especially Irish Catholics--"often regarded emigration as involuntary exile", albeit with varying degrees of intensity.²⁴ This peculiar *mentalité*, Miller argues, owed its existence and general profile to the impact of "culture, class, and historical circumstance on the Irish character".²⁵ This exile motif "led Irish emigrants to interpret experience and adapt to American life in ways which were often alienating and sometimes dysfunctional".²⁶ In a notorious passage which has been eagerly seized upon by his critics, Miller sought to account for the relative differences in behaviour between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants in both Ireland and North America by suggesting that

the Catholic Irish were more communal than individualistic, more dependent than independent, more fatalistic than optimistic, more prone to accept conditions passively than to take initiatives for change Indeed, their perspectives seemed so premodern that to bourgeois observers from business-minded cultures, the native Irish often appeared "feckless", "child-like", and "irresponsible":

²⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

inclined to behave or justify behaviour in ways which avoided personal initiative and individual responsibility, especially as to livelihood.²⁷

Viewed from a perspective which emphasises the existence of "a worldview oriented toward stasis", the Catholic Irish were hardly ideal material out of which to fashion respectable "West Britons" or industrious American citizens.²⁸

Not surprisingly, Miller's central thesis elicited a strong critical response, particularly from those who questioned his contention that Irish economic and social status was set primarily by linguistic, religious and other nebulous cultural variables.²⁹ To what extent can it be claimed that the "exile motif" was unaffected by class, religion or period?³⁰ Despite the depth of its scholarship and the impressive array of insights it offers, the book effectively imprisons the

²⁷ Ibid., p. 107. See also Kerby Miller with Bruce Boling and David N. Doyle, "Emigrants and Exiles: Irish Cultures and Irish Emigration to North America, 1790-1922", Irish Historical Studies 22 (1980): 97-125.

²⁸ Miller, Emigrants and Exiles, p. 111.

²⁹ Donald H. Akenson, "Data: What is Known About The Irish in North America", in R. O'Driscoll and L. Reynolds (eds.), The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada, 2 vols., (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988), p. 23.; Dennis Clark, "Review", Journal of American Ethnic History 5 (1986): 91-94; David Fitzpatrick, "The Irish in America: Exiles or Escapers?", Reviews in American History 15 (1987): 272-78.

³⁰ Even Miller himself is ambivalent on this point, conceding that to a degree this worldview "was in fact less a reflection of religion or ethnicity, as was commonly believed, than of economic situation and social class." Emigrants and Exiles, p. 111. Miller pursues this problem more rigorously within the context of ethnicity in a brilliantly argued essay which is informed by Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony: Kerby Miller, "Class, Culture, and Immigrant Group Identity in the United States: The Case of Irish-American Ethnicity", in Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (ed.), pp. 96-129.

Catholic Irish within the *longue durée* of an external, impersonal structural factor, severely delimiting their capability as creative human beings. While Miller never completely succumbs to a simple cultural determinism, his Irishmen and women are, like Oscar Handlin's, the victims of a deficient, static world-view. This, in turn, supposedly constitutes a source of historical explanation for differences between Protestants and Catholics in Ireland and for their subsequent behaviour in the United States. There is little room in Miller's dour assessment for any of Hasia Diner's fiercely independent Irish-American women, who made a definitive farewell to Irish society and its constraining influences.³¹ Neither can his interpretation accommodate the great diversity of experiences of class, region and religion that has been captured and highlighted in more recent work by scholars such as Dennis Clark, David Emmons, Timothy Meagher and others.³²

The interpretive thrust of most recent contemporary research on the Irish in America appears to have been stimulated partly by persistent Canadian criticism of U.S. historiography led by Donald Akenson, and partly by a desire to

³¹ Hasia R. Diner, Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1983). See also, Carol Groneman, "Working-Class Immigrant Women in Mid-Nineteenth-Century New York: The Irish Woman's Experience", Journal of Urban History 4 (1978): 255-73.

³² Dennis Clark, Hibernia America: The Irish and Regional Cultures, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986); David M. Emmons, The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town, 1875-1925, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Timothy J. Meagher (ed.), From Paddy To Studs: Irish-American Communities in the Turn of the Century Era, 1880 to 1920, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986); Victor A. Walsh, "'Drowning the Shamrock': Drink, Teetotalism, and the Irish Catholics of Gilded-Age Pittsburgh", Journal of American Ethnic History 10 (1991): 60-79.

formulate a response to Miller's characterisation of the Irish as "unhappy exiles". Nonetheless, it has much wider implications for Irish Studies. Indeed, it appears likely to lead to the abandonment of many of the key assumptions about Irish culture on which scholars had previously based their claims, in favour of more richly-textured interpretations. Given this historiographical shift and its implicit rejection of some of the long-standing clichés and myths engendered by several decades of scholarship, it would be unfortunate, indeed, if a residue of the older stereotypes were insinuated as an important element of the Irish Catholic experience in New Zealand. Such a careless appropriation of an outdated North American caricature without a full consideration of its relevance to the local situation would be seriously misconceived.³³

I am convinced that comparative study of the Irish diaspora is an invaluable interpretive device which will enable scholars to gain a wider perspective of the migration process and its outcomes. Nonetheless, Donald Akenson's recent warning about the dangers in adopting the prototypes of Irish misery and eventual rise to respectability in the large north-eastern cities of the United States is timely and should be heeded.³⁴ Whether or not one chooses to characterise the Irish experience in New Zealand as "dead-centre normal", it was clearly diverse, dynamic and rural as much as urban.³⁵ As William

³³ Akenson, *Half The World From Home*, pp. 57, 230-31, fn. 45.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-59. Unfortunately Akenson's examination of spatial distribution of the Irish in New Zealand, on which he bases his conclusion that they were not ghettoised, is drawn from Census data at provincial level. Given the size of the analytical unit with which he is dealing, his examination of spatial distribution is rather limited.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

Pember Reeves observed in relation to the national pattern, the Irish did not "crowd into towns, or attempt to capture the municipal machinery, as in America", nor were they "a source of political unrest or corruption".³⁶ In Christchurch, for example, Irish migrants arrived well after the Famine, and were neither emaciated nor culturally deprived. Furthermore, they were not all Catholic in religion. Given the dissimilarities in the manner and timing of settlement, it is clear that the Irish Catholic experience in the city cannot be viewed adequately through the lens of earlier U.S. literature with its dichotomous images of the "shanty Irish" on the one hand, and the "lace curtain" variety on the other. We would do better to make cautious use of the insights and methodologies of North American scholars working in the broader field of immigration and ethnic studies than inherit the discursive excesses of some of those who have focused solely upon Irish-America. By drawing upon the practical and theoretical efforts of U.S. immigration and social historians, we may be able to extricate ourselves from the bland certitudes of New Zealand's orthodox consensus and its false dichotomies of frontier and tradition.

The journey "from process to structure" in American immigration historiography is a well-known tale often told.³⁷ While it is unnecessary to

³⁶ William Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud: Ao Tea Roa*, (London: 1899), p. 400. However, Reeves added, "[their] Church's antagonism to the National Education system has excluded many able Catholics from public life." To Reeves, it seems, the terms "Irish" and "Catholic" were synonymous.

³⁷ For discussions of American immigration historiography and its transition "from process to structure", see Thomas J. Archdeacon, "Problems and Possibilities in the Study of American Immigration and Ethnic History", *International Migration Review* 19 (1985): 112-34; John Higham, "From Process to Structure: Formulations of American Immigration History", in Peter Kivisto and Dag Blanck (eds.) *American Immigrants and Their Generations*:

rehearse the details in this context, I think it is important to note that the heightened ethnic consciousness permeating American society in the aftermath of the cultural upheavals of the 1960s was reflected in a new pluralistic outlook among the historical profession in the United States. The combined weight of a radical intellectual and social environment, the subterranean influence of ethnic pluralism, and the increasing utilisation of social science methodologies nourished a strong interest in the bonds holding groups together and ensured the downfall of Oscar Handlin's "paradigmatic description" of immigrants as displaced peasants venturing alone into American cities.³⁸ Since the 1960s, a

Studies and Commentaries on the Hansen Thesis after Fifty Years, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), pp. 11-41; Fred Matthews, "Paradigm Changes in Interpretations of Ethnicity, 1930-1980: From Process to Structure", in Kivisto and Blanck (eds.), pp. 167-88; Ewa Morawska, "The Sociology and Historiography of Immigration", in Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (ed.), Immigration Reconsidered, pp. 187-238; Rudolph J. Vecoli, "The Resurgence of American Immigration History", American Studies International 17 (1979): 46-66; Vecoli, "Return to the Melting Pot: Ethnicity in the United States in the Eighties", Journal of American Ethnic History 5 (1985): 7-20. Also useful are Fred Matthews, "'Hobbesian Populism': Interpretive Paradigms and Moral Vision in American Historiography", Journal of American History 73 (1986): 120-36; Thomas Bender, "Wholes and Parts: The Need For Synthesis in American History", Journal of American History 72 (1985): 92-115.

³⁸ Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted, (Boston: Little Brown, 1951). Awarded the Pulitzer Prize in History for 1952, this monograph became the dominant interpretation of the immigrant experience for almost two decades. In Handlin's bold colours, the history of immigration was "a history of alienation and its consequences". The very act of emigration was the product of "desperate individual choice" which represented the end of peasant life in Europe and the beginning of a new life in the United States. Thus newcomers destroyed the bonds that tied them to peasant communities in coming to America where, as displaced strangers, they attempted unsuccessfully to replicate the older communal lifestyle. The disruption was irreparable. Their journey into the American mainstream was rooted in tragic origins, accompanied by the disruption of traditional communities and paid for in heavy human costs including the debasement of personality and the deterioration of culture.

It is testimony to the power of Handlin's sweeping account that the image of the undifferentiated peasant mass became attached to the entire

proliferation of microscopic case-studies of particular localities and social groups has yielded rich documentation about socio-economic opportunities at local level and how various factors affected the adaptation of immigrants and their families.³⁹ In the process of this reorientation, historians moved away from classical push/pull interpretations that focused on individual decisions and actions toward a greater concern for the importance of structural inducement to human actions.⁴⁰ This has been particularly evident in the way scholars highlighted the profound imbalances and dislocations caused by capitalist transformations in the local economies of peripheral societies and their absorption into an expanding capitalist system.⁴¹ Examining particular

immigrant saga, even though it dealt only with one particular segment of immigration to the United States--the influx of South and South-eastern Europeans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

³⁹ It is impossible to do full justice to the enormous scope and variety of this work, but see, for example, John Bodnar, Immigration and Industrialisation: Ethnicity in an American Mill Town, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977); Kathleen Neils Conzen, Immigrant Milwaukee 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976); Clyde and Sally Griffen, Natives and Newcomers: The Ordering of Opportunity in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Poughkeepsie, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978); Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975); Ewa Morawska, For Bread With Butter: Life-Worlds of East Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1840-1940, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Robert C. Ostergren, A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West, 1835-1915, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); Olivier Zunz, The Changing Face of Inequality: Urbanization, Industrial Development, and Immigrants in Detroit, 1880-1920, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

⁴⁰ Morawska, "The Sociology and Historiography of Immigration", p. 192.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 193.

localities within the context of a wider structural environment, historians emphasised the effects of regional conditioning factors on the processes of migration and the subsequent socio-cultural adaptation of migrants in receiving societies. Moreover, their scholarship consistently eschewed models of assimilation that posited a linear progression toward a common amalgam of cultural values and social patterns. Rather than simply a shift from minority to majority status as was often depicted, assimilation became increasingly viewed as a collaborative process involving the entire population. And, researchers focusing on familial households, kinship ties and communities documented large areas of resilient ethnicity.

While the displacement of the old melting-pot concept is vitally important from a New Zealand perspective, equally instructive is the manner in which American scholars abandoned the "paradigmatic straitjacket" of the frontier as the crucible of American individualism and egalitarianism.⁴² This interpretation severely restricted the focus of historical inquiry because it ruled out the possibility that immigrant groups might have re-established significant aspects of a communal past in the United States. As a consequence, few historians working within that tradition attached much value to the pre-migration background of the immigrants and most attempted to explain their behaviour in terms of the American context.⁴³ There are clear parallels that can be made here between the work of generations of American historians grappling with the

⁴² Silvia Pedraza-Bailey, "Immigration Research: A Conceptual Map", Social Science History 14 (1990): 43-67.

⁴³ Ostergren, A Community Transplanted, pp. 19-20.

legacy bequeathed to them by Frederick Jackson Turner, and that of New Zealand, where historical discourse has largely taken place within what Erik Olssen has termed the "Reevesian paradigm".⁴⁴

If we are to ensure that the immigrant saga is no longer neglected, older paradigms that define the nation as the natural focus for understanding the past and emphasise the "Englishness" of New Zealanders need to be challenged directly and supplanted in favour of a more nuanced assessment. We might begin this task by attempting "thick description" of the social world inhabited by immigrants and their children, exploring various aspects of their experience and documenting the manner of their socio-cultural adaptation. Just as American historians have disentangled themselves from Turnerian notions by documenting the continuity of immigrant social forms, we need to examine efforts to transpose cultural resources within a New Zealand context. Moreover, we need to recognize that the dichotomies of frontier-tradition, traditional-modern, *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft*, constructed as they are on the implicit movement from one condition to the other, describe patterns of social relations that co-existed in people's experience.⁴⁵ Our interpretations must therefore probe the multi-faceted lifeworlds of immigrant groups, carefully examining the interaction between these two social alternatives and assessing

⁴⁴ Erik Olssen, "Where To From Here? Reflections On The Twentieth-Century Historiography Of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand", New Zealand Journal Of History 26 (1992): 54-77.

⁴⁵ Thomas Bender, Community and Social Change in America, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1978), pp. 15-43; Reinhard Bendix, "Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered", Comparative Studies in Society and History 9 (1967): 292-346.

the complex relationship that existed between them. By blending the themes of tradition and modernity in this way, we can impart a deeper understanding of colonial society and negotiate a way out of the Reevesian maze.

How, then, are we to proceed in constructing the historical experience of immigrant daily life in nineteenth-century New Zealand? One of the goals that should be placed high on the agenda for future research is the careful sifting of source material at community level with a view to delineating some of the salient features of the colonial social pattern. By undertaking micro-level studies of particular localities or social groups, much as American historians have done, it will be possible to address some of the issues raised in Miles Fairburn's *The Ideal Society* while, at the same time, increasing our understanding of neglected aspects of settler society. Although Fairburn has disputed the legitimacy of this approach in testing the application of a general theory, it is noteworthy that some of the evidence on which his own argument rests is based on intensive localised case-studies carried out by his students. Moreover, Fairburn's dismissal of contrary evidence uncovered in the course of microscopic analyses is answered, it seems to me, by Clifford Geertz's dictum that "the locus of study is not the object of study . . .

that social actions are comments on more than themselves; that where an interpretation comes from does not determine where it can be impelled to go. Small facts speak to large issues, winks to epistemology, or sheep raids to revolution, because they are made to The aim is to draw large conclusions from small, but very densely textured facts; to support broad assertions about the role

of culture in the construction of collective life by engaging them exactly with complex specifics.⁴⁶

It is conceivable that a programme of community studies utilising the insights and methodologies of international social sciences will lead to a more complex, richly detailed portrait of nineteenth-century life. Viewed from an American historiographical perspective, it is clear that the contextual particularity and detailed analysis of such studies represent building-blocks on which regional or national interpretations can be constructed. John Bodnar's *The Transplanted*, a unique and compelling synthesis bringing together scores of historical studies on the American immigrant saga, is an outstanding example of what can be achieved in this way.⁴⁷

In stating a case for the merits of community-based studies in which the writing of actor-centred history would be prominent, a few caveats need to be entered. Firstly, while I cannot accept Fairburn's argument as it presently stands, his findings are a timely warning that one cannot assume tightly-knit communities with dense associative networks existed everywhere in colonial society. In analyzing constantly shifting, impermanent situations at micro-level over long periods, there is always a very real danger that historians may become prone to unfortunate flights of fancy whereby a greater sense of integrated

⁴⁶ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 22, 23, 28.

⁴⁷ John E. Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

community is imposed on the data than actually existed "on the ground".⁴⁸

Moreover, the volatile nature of nineteenth-century life and the inherent bias of many of the extant listings mean that only partial descriptions of delimited areas can be obtained using this technique. Sources are invariably intractable and fragmented, while record linkages, though necessary, introduce elements of ambiguity, particularly where the precise relationships of participants in various social actions are difficult to determine.

Secondly, we need to make some effort to explicate the meaning of "community". Unfortunately the term has been employed in a rather vague and elusive manner in historical scholarship generally, and as a consequence it is very difficult to attach a specific meaning to it. American historian, Thomas Bender, offered useful guidance when he defined a community as "a network of social relations marked by mutuality and social bonds".⁴⁹ This, in my view, provides a solid baseline because it correctly emphasises the central element of *interconnectedness*. Without social bonding, whether based on kinship ties, ethnicity, class or innumerable combinations of variables, there can be no community. Furthermore, Bender's formulation avoids the mistaken impression that a community constitutes a condition bordering on Utopia. In some contexts the whole community may be seen to act in a certain way; in others sub-groups or sections may act against one another or be seen to combine or

⁴⁸ Alan Macfarlane, "History, Anthropology and the Study of Communities", Social History 5 (1977): 631-52; Darrett B. Rutman, "Community Study", Historical Methods Newsletter 13 (1980): 29-41.

⁴⁹ Bender, Community, p. 7. See also C.J. Calhoun, "Community: Toward a Variable Conceptualization For Comparative Research", Social History 5 (1980): 105-29.

divide in different circumstances. Though imprecise, the term implies a subtle dialectic of relative cohesion and fragmentation, a dynamic process not incompatible with the existence of contention, conflict and even rebellion. By employing this conceptual framework we can analyze the issues raised by the documentary evidence relating to the colonial social pattern and assess efforts in building a sense of community within various localities or among specified social groupings.

Despite its limitations, community study does enable historians to probe into areas of experience and social consciousness in colonial New Zealand that have hitherto been closed to inquiry. It provides a valuable tool with which to evaluate the presence or absence of deeply entrenched social ties in a meaningful way, and allows the structural involvements of individuals to be located within inclusive contexts such as ethnic communities, neighbourhoods, cliques or kin-groups. Furthermore, it seems uniquely capable of broadening the critical focus of social inquiry to encompass "the problematic of structuring".⁵⁰ By taking this approach, we can engage in a detailed consideration of historical social structure, widely defined to include families, institutions, classes, kin-groups, belief-systems and so on. As such, it is a method well-suited for the examination of Irish Catholic immigrants, their expectations, traditions and customs, as they confronted the divergent realities of the New World.

In this chapter, I have suggested that there is a serious gap in the writing of New Zealand social history which perpetuates certain cultural silences.

⁵⁰ Abrams, *Historical Sociology*, pp. xv-xvi.

Moreover, I questioned the relative merits of received wisdom where it denies the importance of immigrant culture and consciousness.⁵¹ However, I think it is important to challenge mainstream historiography not because it is largely written by "secular humanists" or "white middle-class males", but because it depreciates the presence of a certain group of historical actors and confiscates their historical identity. With this in mind, I submit that the notion of bi-culturalism cannot sustain or generate adequate explanations and must be superseded by different conceptions which leave sufficient room for genuine pluralistic experiences. If we are to better grasp the diversity of identities, communities, and circumstances that existed in nineteenth-century New Zealand, then we need to make sense of the emergent social construction termed ethnicity. And, we might well begin this task by carrying out intensive microscopic studies of community-oriented interaction patterns.

The chapters which follow explore the everyday texture of nineteenth-

⁵¹ Patrick O'Farrell recently proffered an eloquent critique of Australian historical writing which could also be applied to New Zealand: "[Australia's] historians took--still take--an English view of appearances, accept English priorities, reflect Protestant value-judgments. The sub-world of Irish Catholics had no real existence for historians who wrote from and about the walled gardens of the establishment. The questions they asked, the issues they addressed, the troubles that concerned them, have been those of a dying British colonialism . . . the narrowly professional structures of Australia's historical profession have squeezed out, as in the operations of some elite club, the wider concerns and character of the underclass: and that class has accepted, until recently, the WASP definition of both game and rules." Vanished Kingdoms: Irish in Australia and New Zealand, A Personal Excursion, (Kensington: University of New South Wales Press, 1990), pp. 7, 9. See also, O'Farrell, "Historians And Religious Convictions", Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand 17 (1977): 279-98.

century immigrant life and aim to be "hermeneutically informed".⁵² This constitutes an imaginative act in that I attempt to gain access to an unfamiliar world in order to construct an actor-centred description. It necessarily requires that my interpretation of Irish Catholic ethnicity be cast in terms of constructions they placed upon what they lived through, in such a way as to constitute part of the reality ostensibly being described.⁵³ The trick in providing such an account of other people's subjectivities is not achieved through imagining myself as someone else and then seeing what they thought.⁵⁴ Instead, it involves "a continuous dialectical tacking between the most local of local detail and the most global of global structure in such a way as to bring them into simultaneous view."⁵⁵ Chapter One endeavours to put this method into practice by linking micro- and macro-level explanations in an examination of the process of migration.

⁵² See Charles Taylor, "Interpretation and the Sciences of Man", in Paul Rabinow and William M. Sullivan (eds.), Interpretive Social Science: A Reader, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 25-71, and "Understanding in Human Science", Review of Metaphysics 34 (1980): 25-38.

⁵³ Geertz, The Interpretation Of Cultures, pp. 14-16.

⁵⁴ This problem is discussed by Peter Burke, "Strengths and Weaknesses of the History of Mentalities", History of European Ideas 7 (1986): 439-51. See also Michael A. Gismondi, "'The Gift of Theory': A Critique of the *Histoire des Mentalités*", Social History 10 (1985): 211-30.

⁵⁵ Clifford Geertz, "'From the Native's Point of View': On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding", in Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology, (New York: Basic Books, 1983), p. 69.

CHAPTER ONE

THE MIGRATION

Andrew and Rachel Pepper of Lurgan, County Down, obtained assisted passages to the province of Canterbury in 1860. Having paid a cash deposit of £2.10s and pledged a further sum of £37.10s in promissory notes, the couple sailed for the colony from London aboard the *Gananoque* on the ninth of February of that year, arriving in Lyttelton on the ninth of May.¹ This act of emigration was to have great significance for the couple's kinfolk at home for it marked the first of a series of departures from Ireland over the next fourteen years. Following the death of Andrew Pepper in September of 1861, Rachel's eldest brother, Charles Haughey, emigrated to Canterbury aboard the *Mersey* in 1862, presumably to provide support for his widowed sister and her family.² Whatever the reason for the urgency of his voyage, Haughey left without his wife, Margaret, who rejoined him in 1863 when she arrived in Lyttelton on the *David G. Fleming*. Accompanying her on the journey were the couple's four children and Charles' younger brother, Edward.³ The group settled on land

¹ Im-CH 4/30, NA-W.

² Ibid., NA-W; The Will Of Charles Haughey, 7789/1912, NA-CH; Death Index, 907/1912; Descendent information, Pat Grace. Charles Haughey married Margaret McCusker on 25 November 1855 in a double ceremony with Rachel Haughey and Andrew Pepper. His first wife, Mary Anne Leathem, had died on 14 August 1850, aged twenty-two, while the couple's only daughter, Maria, died in 1854, leaving a sole surviving son, Arthur, who made his way to colony aboard the Cathcart in 1874.

³ Im-CH 4/53, NA-W.

situated in Hills Road, St. Albans, with Rachel Pepper, who had remarried Tipperary-born John Goggin at the Church of the Blessed Sacrament in 1864.⁴ It was not until 1874, however, that their numbers were further reinforced by the arrival of Edward Haughey's wife, Margaret, and the couple's three sons, aboard the *Cathcart*, together with the large family of his brother, James, and his wife, Hannah, all of whom had been nominated for assisted passages by Charles Haughey.⁵ Thus, in a familiar sequential process repeated many times throughout the final decades of the nineteenth century, a major fragment of a functioning network grid that connected kinfolk in Ireland was transplanted in colonial soil where it sent down new roots without entirely truncating pre-existing ones.⁶

⁴ John Goggin, intestate, 7046/1910, NA-CH; Death Index, 804/1909; Descendent information, Pat Grace.

⁵ Im-CH 4/123, NA-W; Im-10/1, nos. 2327 and 2328, NA-W; Birth Index, 198/1878; Death Index, 620/1882.

⁶ There is a rich and varied literature dealing with the role of associative networks in the context of migration. See, for example, Robert E. Bieder, "Kinship as a Factor in Migration", Journal of Marriage and the Family 35 (1973): 429-39; Harvey M. Choldin, "Kinship Networks in the Migration Process", International Migration Review 7 (1973): 167-175; Robert C. Ostergren, "Kinship Networks and Migration", Social Science History 6 (1982): 293-320; Donna Gabaccia, "Kinship, Culture and Migration: A Sicilian Example", Journal of American Ethnic History 3 (1984): 39-53.

The classic definition of the network concept was provided by John Barnes: "[E]ach person has a number of friends, and these friends have their own friends; some of any one person's friends know each other, others do not. I find it convenient to talk of a social field of this kind as a network. The image I have is of a set of points some of which are joined by lines. The points of the image are people, or sometimes groups, and the lines indicate which people interact with each other." See J.A. Barnes, "Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish", Human Relations 7 (1954): p. 43. My own understanding of the network concept has been informed by Plakans, Kinship in the Past, ch. 10.

To ask why the Peppers and hundreds of other Irishmen and women like them made the journey to Christchurch is to begin to explore a series of critical historical questions that lie at the heart of all research into human migratory behaviour. What leads people to make the decision to move? How were those persons who chose to leave "selected" from the population of the old country? What is the nature of the crossing? How should we describe that process?

Although the subject of immigrant origins in the context of early Canterbury has not been an unexplored topic, most historians have obscured the actors themselves or merely found them a convenient vehicle with which to extrapolate sweeping conclusions.⁷ Apart from Charlotte Macdonald's pioneering account of the experience of single female immigrants to the province, there have been no systematic studies that have undertaken sophisticated reconstructions of the multitude of migrant streams that flowed into Canterbury from Great Britain, Europe and Australia.⁸ Existing scholarship has yielded valuable data in relation to provincial immigration policies and the broad demographic profile of the province's early years, but we still know very little about the personal identities of the immigrants themselves or the kinds of associational networks to which they belonged. As American historians have demonstrated, however, close attention to both structural conditions and

⁷ See, for example, Barry Samuel Allom, "Bishop Grimes: his context and contribution to the Catholic Church in Canterbury", M.A. thesis, University of Canterbury, 1968.

⁸ Charlotte Macdonald, "Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in New Zealand, 1853-1871", Ph.D thesis, University of Auckland, 1986. See also R.H. Silcock, "Immigration into Canterbury under the Provincial Government", M.A thesis, University of Canterbury, 1964.

personal detail in the examination of individual and collective immigrant life-worlds can be very illuminating. To achieve this goal, prosopographical studies or genealogical investigation have an important place. But these powerful methodological tools need to be integrated into a more problem-oriented, hermeneutically informed approach that apprehends the complex interplay between the mundane nature of day-to-day life and the broader forms and forces of *la longue durée*. By directing attention to the continual interplay of agency and structure in the relocation of immigrant groups, one perceives the process of "becoming" as people respond to situational exigencies within the context of everyday life.

A major obstacle in providing such a comprehensive account of the migration experience of those Irish Catholics who made their way to Christchurch is a lack of personal evidence. The majority of the immigrants were illiterate and left so few traces in the historical record that even narrowly focused genealogical reconstructions reveal little about the social universes in which they operated. Without written or oral testimony the possibility of explicating the circumstantial or psychological motivations of individual immigrants such as the Peppers is remote. Nonetheless, sufficient evidence exists to permit an examination of the general mechanisms of migration at work in the development of an Irish Catholic immigrant community in the city and its environs.

To be sure, this type of analysis is an essentially speculative undertaking. The path of migration, after all, involved a large number of people whose assorted attitudes and reasons for leaving Ireland were matched by the equally

wide variety of social backgrounds and local conditions from which they came. Yet, it is clear that the emigrants were not an undifferentiated mass drawn at random from Ireland. On the contrary, they were associated with specific regions, social categories and associative networks already encountering the harsh realities of expanding capitalism and experimenting with ways to deal with its demands within the narrow limits available to them.⁹ Moreover, Irish society itself was not a homogeneous entity any more than its emigration was, and linguistic, religious and socio-economic conditions varied greatly throughout the country, even over short distances.¹⁰ The documentation of general patterns and themes from available local sources is therefore fraught with danger unless this range of diversity is acknowledged. We need to view the movement of Irish Catholics to the city as part of a massive, complex phenomenon that was structured and selective in relation to its points of origin and destination.

An examination of the broad socio-economic and demographic outlines of Irish society during the post-Famine period discloses a consistent pattern of general stagnation, extensive impoverishment and massive population loss. During the intercensal period 1841-1851, Ireland's population decreased markedly from around 8.2 million to 6.5 million as a result of the upheavals induced by the Great Famine, but even as widespread immiseration abated it maintained a downward momentum, falling from 5.8 million in 1861 to 4.2

⁹ Miller, Emigrants and Exiles, *passim*.

¹⁰ David Fitzpatrick, "Irish Emigration in the Later Nineteenth Century", Irish Historical Studies 22 (1980): 126-43; F.S.L. Lyons, Ireland Since The Famine, (London: Redwood Press, 1971), pp. 42-58.

million by 1926.¹¹ This precipitate decline acquired its continuity from the effects of heavy, sustained emigration which became an integral feature of the post-Famine decades, inextricably woven into the fabric of its economic and social system. Between the years 1851 and 1920 a total of 4.3 million emigrants left Irish ports for various overseas destinations, with the overwhelming majority--over 80% of the outflow--sailing directly to the United States.¹² The remainder were largely distributed throughout Canada and the Australasian colonies, while smaller numbers ventured to Argentina, South Africa and other destinations. In addition, as many as one million others formed part of a substantial outflow to Great Britain that either relocated permanently or re-emigrated elsewhere after an initial period of settlement.¹³ Throughout the years 1851-1920, then, Ireland lost between 4.8 and 5.3 million inhabitants to emigration, and of these three-fifths made their way to the United States, one-quarter to Great Britain and about one-thirteenth each to Canada and Australia.¹⁴ Such was the extent of this exodus that by the late nineteenth century the number of native-born Irish and their descendants living overseas outnumbered that of their counterparts who had chosen to remain in the old

¹¹ W.E. Vaughan and A.J. Fitzpatrick (eds.), Irish Historical Statistics: Population, 1821-1971, (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), p. 3.

¹² Ibid., pp. 259-65; Commission on Emigration and Other Problems, 1848-1954: Reports, (Dublin: 1954), p. 124.

¹³ Cormac Ó Gráda, "A Note on Nineteenth-Century Emigration Statistics", Population Studies 29 (1975): 143-49; David Fitzpatrick, "Irish Emigration...", pp. 131-34, 142; Commission on Emigration, pp. 123-27.

¹⁴ Vaughan and Fitzpatrick, pp. 261-63.

country.¹⁵ As an Irish-born Roman Catholic bishop, Dr. Patrick Moran of Dunedin, reminded an audience in Cashel, there were two Irelands: one at "Home" and the other--"a greater Ireland"--abroad.¹⁶

All socio-economic groups, religions and counties were drained by the exodus, but its effects did not occur evenly and it drew disproportionately from specific areas and occupations. A close analysis of the official figures compiled by the Registrar General for Ireland for the period 1 May 1851 to 31 December 1920 reveals that of the 4,227,460 emigrants who stated their county of origin, 29.5 percent (1,495,460) departed from Ulster, 17.7 percent (748,651) from Leinster, 35.4 percent (1,495,460) from Munster, and 17.4 (735,177) from Connaught.¹⁷ The noticeable bias toward the southern- and westernmost provinces, which together contributed more than 53 percent of the exodus, became considerably more pronounced between 1881 and 1920, when they increased their share to 57.4 percent of total departures.¹⁸ This initial impression is reinforced by the fact that emigration from Munster and Connaught was substantially greater by decade than that from Ulster and Leinster in proportion to each province's respective population at the preceding census. After 1851 Munster and Connaught each lost at least ten percent of their population throughout every ten year period until 1911, while

¹⁵ David Fitzpatrick, "Ireland Since 1870", in R.F. Foster (ed.), The Oxford History of Ireland, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 175.

¹⁶ New Zealand Tablet, 23 August, 1889.

¹⁷ Figures computed from Vaughan and Fitzpatrick, pp. 344-53.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 344-53.

Table 1.1 Decadal Emigration From Ireland By Provinces As A Proportion Of The Population At The Census Year Beginning Each Decade, 1851-1920

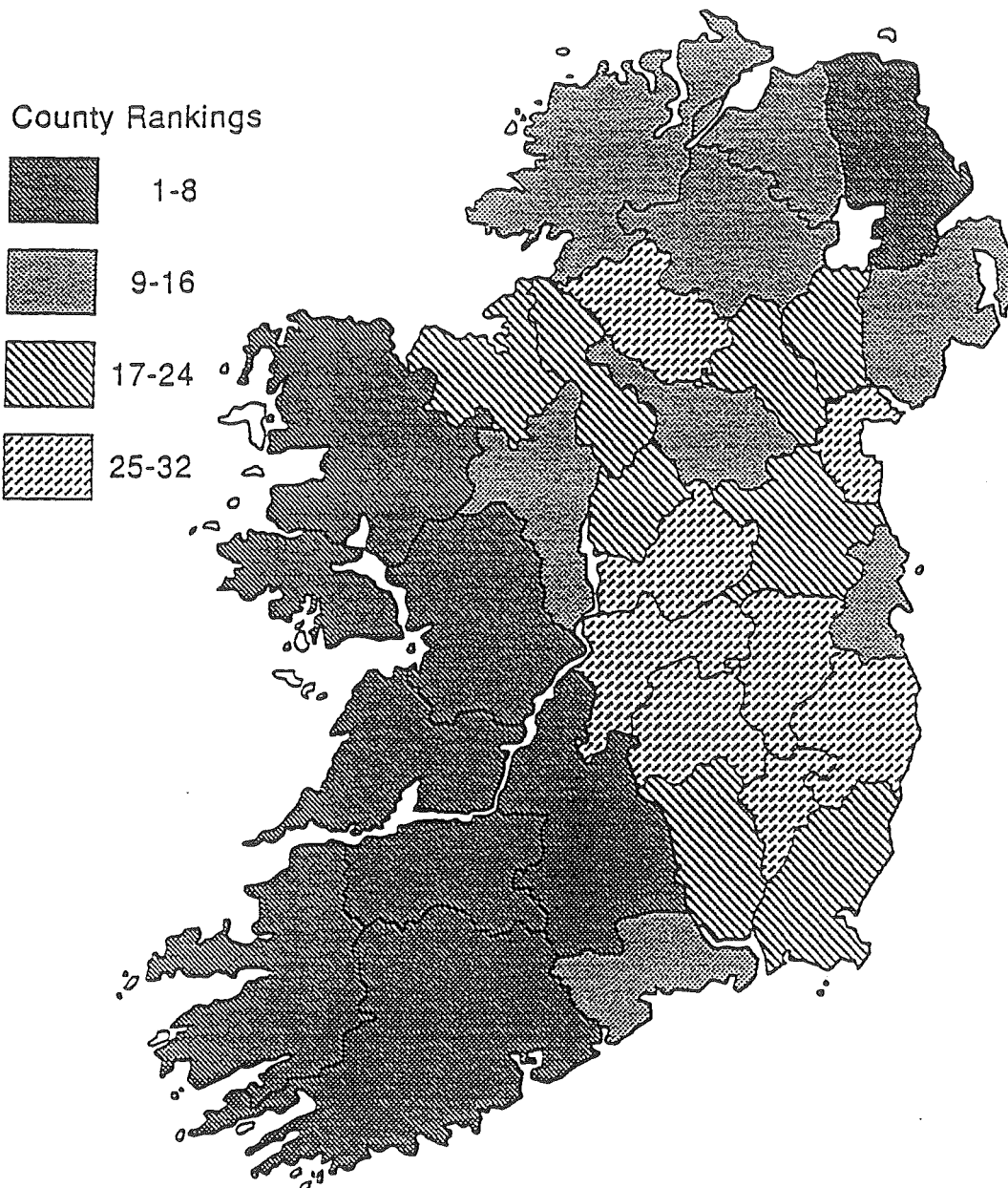
	1851- 60	1861- 70	1871- 80	1881- 90	1891- 1900	1901- 10	1911- 20
Ulster	16.7	10.6	13.1	12.5	5.4	6.7	3.7
Leinster	13.9	10.2	8.3	10.8	4.2	3.7	2.0
Connaught	13.5	12.5	10.2	19.7	16.3	13.2	5.5
Munster	23.2	20.2	13.0	18.9	15.2	10.4	3.5
Ireland	17.8	14.7	11.5	14.9	9.2	7.8	3.4

Source: Based on W.E. Vaughan and A.J. Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Irish Historical Statistics: Population, 1821-1971*, (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), pp. 3, 15-16, 261-3, and 344-53.

departures from Ulster and Leinster slumped dramatically in the 1890s to a level well below that of the south and west (see Table 1.1). Overall, Munster sustained an average loss of 14.9 percent of its inhabitants across the entire period 1851-1920, compared to a corresponding figure of 13 percent for Connaught. By contrast, 9.8 percent of Ulster's population left the country during the same interval, with considerably fewer numbers emigrating from Leinster (7.6 percent).

Figure 1.1 presents regional origins data by county for all recorded overseas departures during the period under consideration and indicates that the magnitude of overseas movement was greatest from poorer counties situated along the southern and western seaboard. The official figures from which they are derived, however, obscure the extent of this bias toward the west. On the basis of cohort depletion rates, David Fitzpatrick and Cormac Ó Gráda have calculated that extant listings badly underestimate the number of departures from Connaught, and to a lesser degree from both Ulster and Leinster, while

Figure 1.1 Total Irish Emigration Overseas By County, 1851-1920



Sources: W.E.Vaughan and A.J.Fitzpatrick, eds.

Irish Historical Statistics: Population, 1821 - 1971
(Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), 261-353;

Kerby A. Miller *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America*
(New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), Table 2, pp. 570-71.

they overestimate the total outflow from Munster.¹⁹ Despite these limitations, which require that the data be viewed in the context of average cohort depletion for the period, it remains clear that the emigrant stream flowed largely from the west and south-west where Counties Kerry, Limerick and especially Cork in Munster sustained heavy losses, while all the counties of Connaught, along with County Donegal in south-west Ulster, were similarly affected.²⁰ Emigration rates were particularly high throughout the southern midlands that stretched west to Counties Tipperary and Clare, from County Cavan in the Ulster border region, and from County Antrim in the north. With the notable exception of Antrim, which experienced limited industrial and urban expansion, the majority of emigrants emanated from the least urbanised, most impoverished districts with the worst rural-housing conditions that were still heavily dependent on potato cultivation or cottage industry for survival.

Although the pressures that generated these departures varied in intensity from region to region, the exodus derived most of its force from the cumulative weight of a cluster of interrelated socio-economic processes associated with the adjustment of Irish society to the demands of an expanding international market system dominated by British and American capitalism. In Ireland, as in other regions in Europe and Asia, the expansion of industrialisation along with the rising productivity of commercialised agriculture profoundly influenced rates of

¹⁹ Cormac Ó Gráda, "Some Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Irish Emigration Statistics", in L.M. Cullen and T.C. Smout (eds.), Comparative Aspects of Irish Economic and Social History, (Edinburgh: 1977), pp. 65-73; Fitzpatrick, "Irish Emigration...", pp. 127-28.

²⁰ Cohort depletion rates reveal the percentage of people aged 5-24 at one census who had disappeared from the group aged 15-34 a decade later.

emigration and determined the types of persons who decided to leave. These pressures were particularly acute in rural areas where they precipitated the consolidation of erstwhile subsistence holdings into commercial farms and pasturage, partly in response to international price movements that favoured cattle over the products of the plough. As a consequence of the spread of grazing and the increasing capitalization of agriculture, holdings below 15 acres declined steadily from 279,937 (49.1%) in 1851 to only 217,273 (42.1%) by 1901, a momentum that was matched by a corresponding increase in the proportion of larger ventures. This was especially so among holdings over 30 acres, which numbered 149,090 in (26.1%) and 164,483 (31.9%) by 1901. Moreover, the same market forces encouraging the move from tillage to pasture brought with it a firm preference for mechanisation or family assistance over hired labour. These tendencies substantially reduced the demand for agricultural labourers, whose employment became seasonal and irregular.²¹

Matrimonial practices, meanwhile, hardened as prevailing economic and social conditions favoured a shift from partible to impartible inheritance and the demeaning spectre of the dowry system. Although this situation can be viewed as a pragmatic response to the increasing commercialisation of post-Famine agriculture and the strenuous efforts of many landlords to discourage subdivision among their tenants, its emergence owed a great deal to profound

²¹ Joseph Lee, The Modernisation of Irish Society, 1848-1914, (Dublin: 1973), pp. 10-11; L.M. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland since 1660, (London: 1972), pp. 134-39; Miller, Emigrants and Exiles, pp. 345-426.

All figures were computed from Arnold Shrier, Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850-1900, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958), Table 11, p. 163.

changes wrought throughout Irish social structure in the wake of the Great Famine. The crisis of 1845-49 decimated the lower rural classes of cottiers and landless labourers that had formerly been more likely to choose partible inheritance and early marriage, and its psychological impact made survivors more receptive to clerical demands for repentance and virtuous behaviour. The number of farming families, however, remained more or less constant during these years, and it was among this "critical nation-forming class" that the means to maintain a tenacious if precarious hold on the land had been found prior to the Famine through restricting inheritance, limiting dowries and delaying sexual initiation and marriage. After the Famine the demographic diversity that had existed previously was superseded, and the small-holders and remaining landless labourers were assimilated to the aspirations and models of propriety and respectability of their social betters. Confronted with the demeaning possibility of being forced to work as agricultural labourers or domestic servants, with all the overtones of social descent that this implied, non-inheriting children of tenant farmers faced a bleak future at home. The utter dearth of opportunities acted as a massive catalyst in continued emigration and narrowed other possible strategies to a distinctive configuration of late marriage, frequent celibacy, and the loveless match.²²

²² Emmet Larkin, "Church, State and Nation in Modern Ireland", American Historical Review 80 (1975): 1244-77; Robert E. Kennedy, Jr., The Irish: Emigration, Marriage, and Fertility, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 86-109, 139-72; K.H. Connell, Irish Peasant Society: Four Historical Essays, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), ch. 4; Miller, Emigrants and Exiles, pp. 402-09; Diner, pp. 1-29.

Throughout the post-Famine period the economic rationalisation of land use, farm size and inheritance patterns proceeded inexorably and transformed the very structure of agrarian society. It displaced large numbers of labourers, cottiers and petty tillage farmers and left in its wake a more market-oriented countryside dominated by strong farmers and graziers. For those uprooted by these processes migration to the towns or emigration became an economic and social imperative, while surviving smallholders and cottier-dairymen were forced to curtail the sub-division of their land on the marriage of their children, thereby compelling their disinherited offspring to join the exodus.²³

The exposure of the Irish countryside to the competitive exigencies of a market economy not only radically altered the structure of Irish agriculture but also brought about a precipitous decline in localised industries such as brewing and linen-weaving. Distributed widely by way of a growing railway network which integrated numerous localities into continuous interaction with evolving capitalist property and economic relations, the dumping of English and American manufactured goods on the Irish market hastened the nascent de-industrialisation of rural areas, particularly in the south. An increasing range of wants aroused by the availability of cheap imported factory-made goods, and a severe reduction in local markets for higher priced cottage manufactures and services engendered by the on-going process of rural depopulation and intermittent agricultural distress, obliged the departure of displaced craftsmen and artisans. Ironically, many of these emigrants were destined to assist in the production of goods that created further demand for Irish workers in the New

²³ Miller, Emigrants and Exiles, pp. 345-426; Lyons, pp. 34-42;

World. In addition, the decline of the industrial sector severely reduced employment opportunities for rural migrants and encouraged the more venturesome to seek higher remuneration for work abroad rather than settle for a tenuous existence in the slums of southern towns and cities such as Dublin and Limerick.²⁴

In Ulster, however, not even sustained industrialisation and urban growth could stem the tide of departures from throughout the region. Although its emigration rate was consistently less than that of Munster and Connaught, the province's urban-industrial centres did not attract or absorb all of the disinherited farmers' children and surplus rural workers from surrounding rural areas and its population fell 21 percent between the years 1851 and 1911. An important contributing factor to this state of affairs was the rapid mechanisation and subsequent contraction of the North's textile industry which left destitute many Ulster smallholders and cottiers who were reliant on supplementary earnings from flax production and cottage industries such as linen spinning and weaving. Denied the income and employment previously obtained from these sources, they were no longer immune to the economic pressures favouring a shift from subsistence to commercial agriculture and its attendant transformations in land-use and inheritance patterns. While some farmers managed to survive on the land by consolidating their existing holdings, many were unable to eke out a living through farming alone and were forced to move to Belfast, Londonderry or industrial towns like Ballymena and Portadown,

²⁴ Cullen, *An Economic History*, pp. 142-48; Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, pp. 364-69; Lee, pp. 13-35; Lyons, pp. 45-46, 56.

where they were confined to the lowest-paid jobs in labour markets increasingly ordered by sectarian animosities. Not surprisingly, large numbers of rural Ulstermen and women eschewed internal migration for a voyage to more attractive destinations in the New World, an emigrant stream characterised by a higher sex ratio of male to female emigrants than other regions during the post-Famine period reflecting the limited employment opportunities available to unskilled male workers in the north compared to their female counterparts.²⁵

In reality, the "modernisation" of Irish society was a fundamental cause and consequence of the heavy, sustained emigration that left behind deserted villages, bachelor farms and the late marriage. At the same time, it constituted something of a "safety valve" which siphoned off Ireland's superfluous inhabitants and minimised the intensity of social unrest and collective protest among the most destitute, unrooted sectors of the population. Yet, though it facilitated the disappearance of the landless labourer and restricting unemployment at home, the exodus also made practicable the survival of large families on uneconomic holdings through remittances from relatives overseas which helped pay rents and shop debts. The so-called "American letter", vividly described by American historian Arnold Schrier, provided a much needed cash injection which ensured the survival of western peasant world and its rural economy where elements of archaic farming and landholding practices lasted on. Remittances from the United States to Ireland alone averaged almost one million pounds annually throughout the nineteenth century. But not even this

²⁵ Vaughan and Fitzpatrick, pp. 344-53; Cullen, *An Economic History*, pp. 117, 119-21, 151-52, 160; Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, pp. 369-80; Lyons, pp. 45-58.

"stream of gold" was sufficient to alleviate intermittent rural distress as foreign competition from more advanced, heavily capitalised nations placed large numbers of Irish yeoman smallholders, wage earners and cultivators at a severe disadvantage.²⁸

Despite a general improvement in living conditions resulting from Ireland's exposure to international trade, the "benefits" of post-Famine consolidations and commercialisation were not evenly shared and its few advantages became increasingly concentrated among an emerging élite of strong farmers, graziers, shopkeepers and merchant-traders. Small and middling farmers, on the other hand, profited little from the meagre gains enjoyed by Irish agriculture and remained highly vulnerable to declining prices, poor harvests, periodic credit squeezes and livestock diseases, all of which occurred simultaneously between the years 1859-64 and 1879-88. In such an uncertain environment prosperity was both elusive and ephemeral, leaving scattered islands of wealth in a sea of struggling poverty. For the majority of rural inhabitants, the perpetual threat of bankruptcy, eviction or destitution infused day-to-day life with a constant marginality to which many succumbed. Others voluntarily abandoned their arduous struggle with Irish soil and climate, resolute in the belief that Ireland offered little in the way of opportunities or economic inducements. The quest for personal or familial security was undoubtedly an overriding consideration in reaching this decision. Presented with a limited range of choices in a depressed

²⁸ Cormac Ó Gráda, "The Beginnings of the Irish Creamery System, 1880-1914", *Economic History Review* 30 (1977): 284-305; David Fitzpatrick, in Foster (ed.), pp. 175-76, and "Emigration Patterns...", p. 127; Schrier, pp. 18-42, 103-122; Lyons, p. 57.

and depopulated countryside, prospective emigrants were well aware of existing market conditions for their labour at numerous global destinations and many were prepared to follow well-worn migration paths that had been established by family members or friends. Without the expectation of remunerative employment, access to land, an inheritance or adequate dowry at home, the emigrant ship represented the most realistic means of achieving individual and collective goals.²⁷

Just as each migrant stream was associated with a distinct region or social grouping, so too were they related to different points of destination. The geographical pivot of Irish emigration to the United States, for example, turned upon the congested rural districts of the southern- and westernmost provinces where potato-based economies and an attenuated Gaelic culture survived.²⁸ By contrast, Ulster and its adjoining counties of north Connaught and North Leinster constituted the major source of Canadian migration, a movement that reflected the socio-religious composition of these areas and featured a larger proportion of non-Catholics than its southern neighbour.²⁹ In general, both these flows exhibited a large measure of continuity. Ireland had enjoyed numerous, enduring links with North America dating back to the late

²⁷ James S. Donnelly, "The Irish Agricultural Depression of 1859-64", Irish Economic and Social History 3 (1976): 33-54; S.H. Cousens, "The Regional Variations in Population Changes in Ireland, 1861-1881", Economic History Review 17 (1964): 301-21; Miller, Emigrants and Exiles, pp. 362, 380-97, 424-26; Cullen, An Economic History, pp. 139, 148-50; Lyons, pp. 34-37, 41-42.

²⁸ Miller, Emigrants and Exiles, pp. 345-53; David Fitzpatrick, "Irish Emigration...", passim.

²⁹ Cecil B. Houston and William J. Smyth, "Irish Emigrants To Canada: Whence They Came", in O'Driscoll and Reynolds (eds.), pp. 27-35.

seventeenth century, and a steady flow of emigrants had made their way to the New World for many years prior to the decimation of 1845-49. After 1858 the ease and cheapness of the transatlantic crossing was secured by competing British steamship companies whose steamers connected the New World with various Irish ports. As a result, emigrants were no longer required to travel to Glasgow or Liverpool to board their vessels and the journey was made more accessible to those with scant resources who could ill-afford the high risks of longer distance migration. Queenstown (now Cobh), Merville and, later, Belfast became major points of embarkation for the transatlantic journey, while regular calls at Ballina, Bantry Bay and Valencia Harbour also facilitated the departure of Irish passengers bound for the United States and Canada.³⁰ Ultimately, both movements were largely shaped by the emigrants themselves, who created self-perpetuating chains extending kinship networks and obligations across the Atlantic ocean.

Nineteenth-century Irish migration to Christchurch differed markedly from North American patterns in relation to its timing and composition. The city itself was not established, let alone settled, prior to the early 1850s and though small numbers of Irish migrants drifted into the provincial capital during the early years, significant groups did not arrive until comparatively late. The cost of the passage to the colony, which ranged as high as £18 to £24 in the mid-1850s, was beyond the scant resources of most Irish emigrants, even when subsidised by the provincial government, and it compared poorly with existing fares to

³⁰ H.C. Brookfield, "Ireland and the Atlantic Ferry", Irish Geography 3 (1955), pp. 69-74; Deidre M. Mageean, "Emigration From Irish Ports", Journal of American Ethnic History 13 (1993): 6-30.

North America. More importantly, Canterbury's founders had envisioned a coherent, balanced and quintessentially English or at least Anglican settlement, an ideal that persisted to some degree in the immigration schemes instituted throughout the period. Provincial leaders and administrators displayed considerable ambivalence toward immigration from Ireland, fearing that an influx of Catholic Irish would introduce a plethora of social problems including higher rates of drunkenness, violence and sectarian animosities. Successive Emigration Agents appointed to act for Canterbury in London did little to formally attract, select or arrange for the transport of immigrants from the island and concentrated their limited recruitment efforts on districts located in north-east Ulster.³¹

Nonetheless, the supply of labour in the province seldom equalled the demand, particularly during boom periods such as 1857-64. As a result the rigorous selection criteria underpinning provincial immigration programmes was periodically relaxed to attract sufficient numbers of agricultural labourers, shepherds and domestic servants. In addition, intending immigrants were encouraged to sail to Canterbury by various financial subsidies designed to alleviate the hardship and cost of the journey. This inducement held obvious appeal for impoverished Irishmen and women who were better able to raise the few pounds towards their fares. Once in the city, they could then take advantage of the nomination system to secure passages for relatives or friends.

³¹ R.L.N. Greenaway, "Henry Selfe Selfe and the Origins and Early Development of Canterbury", M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1972, pp. 55-67.

These changes not only made Canterbury more competitive with North American destinations and other Australasian colonies, but opened the gates to significant numbers of emigrants from Ireland. The years 1859-65, which coincided with an Irish agricultural crisis, formed the foundation period of Irish settlement throughout the province and witnessed the arrival of substantial contingents of newcomers aboard vessels such as the *William Miles*, the *Chrysolite* and the *Zealandia*.³² Even though a sharp fall in wool and grain prices in 1865 ushered in an era of uncertainty in the colony and lessened the need for large numbers of immigrant workers, a constant stream of Irish migrants continued to flow directly from Great Britain. The majority of these newcomers were young, female domestics whose services were always in short supply. Provincial recruiting drives were focused almost exclusively on single women during the downturn, and Irish women outnumbered their English counterparts and were almost twice the proportion of Irish males between 1866-71.³³ When unqualified demand for a renewed influx resumed in 1871, responsibility for the management of immigration had shifted to the Wellington by virtue of the Immigration and Public Works Act of 1870 and Dr. I.A. Featherston was dispatched to England as Agent-General to select immigrants.

Widespread dissatisfaction with the numbers attained under this new arrangement prompted the General Government to restore a measure of control over the management of settlement to the provinces. The Canterbury Provincial Council appointed a special Emigration Agent in London and resolved to allow

³² *Canterbury Gazette*, Volume 10, no. 8, 3 June 1862, p. 75.

³³ Macdonald, "Single Women as Immigrant Settlers...", p. 87.

settlers to nominate friends for free passages to the colony.³⁴ Nonetheless, the province received a considerable proportion of assisted immigrants as a result of the Vogelite development policy of the 1870s and a flood of new arrivals almost overwhelmed local organisations during the peak years of 1874-75.³⁵ Despite changes in management, however, the immigration schemes of later years closely followed provincial precedents and exhibited a similar reticence in dealing with the issue of Irish immigration.³⁶ Selective recruitment policies, dubious administrative practices and a reluctance to conduct extensive publicity campaigns south of the Ulster border region limited the spectrum of potential settlers and ensured that the distinct preference for migrants from north-east counties with non-Catholic majorities continued unabated.

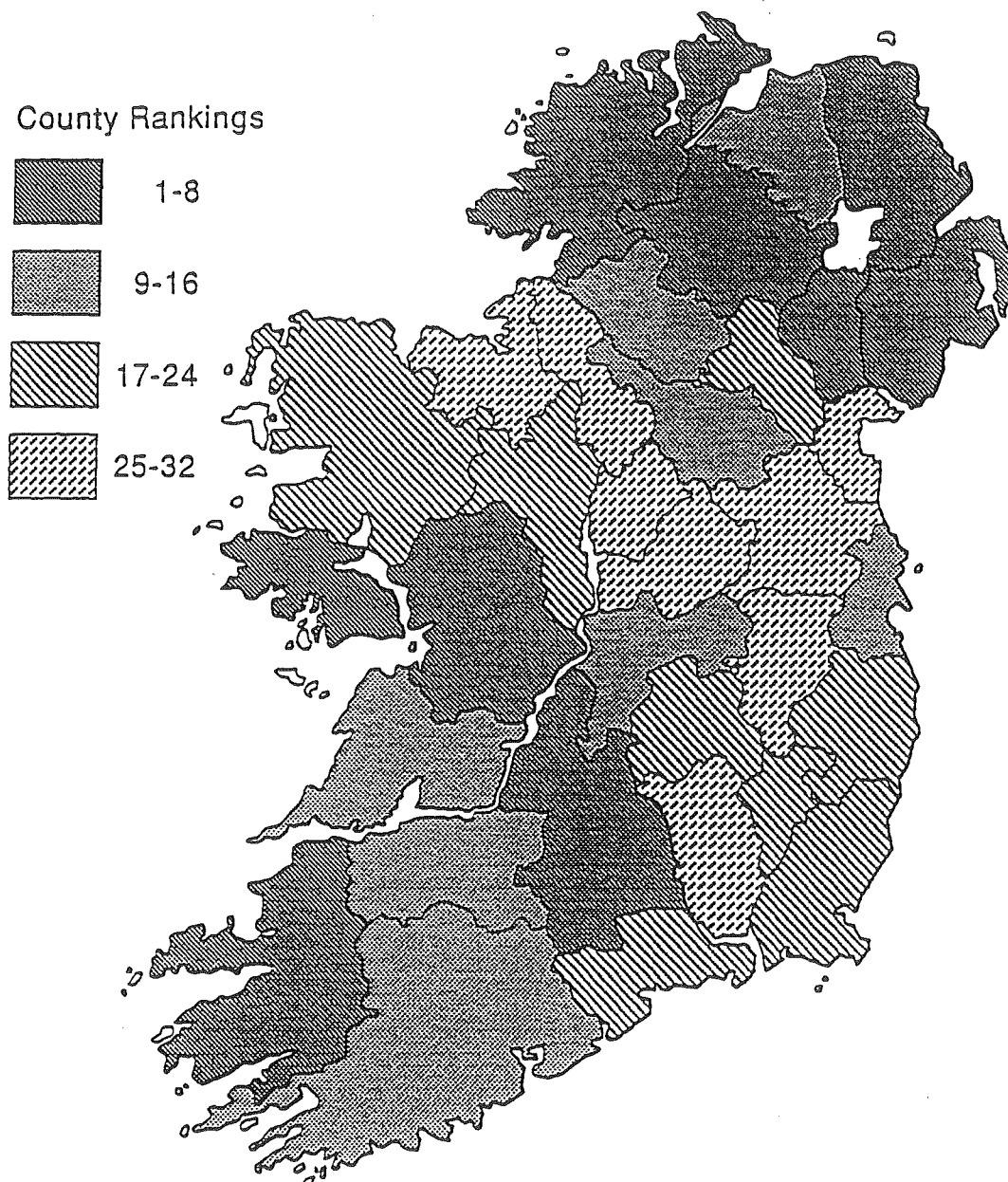
Figure 1.2 shows the regional origins of all assisted passengers from Ireland between 1855-76 by county and illustrates the extent of this geographical bias. According to these figures, more than half of the 5,134 Irish newcomers whose place of origin was recorded by immigration officials emanated from Ulster, and of these the largest numbers emigrated from Counties Antrim, Tyrone, Armagh and especially County Down. By contrast the province of Munster was under-represented among the immigrants (27.3 percent), while about one fifth of the total inflow had been supplied by Leinster

³⁴ Duncan to Provincial Secretary, 13 August 1873, ICPS 1390/1873, NA-CH; Rolleston to Featherston, 27 August 1873, ICPS 1468/1873, NA-CH; Duncan to Provincial Secretary, 19 March 1874 and 10 July 1874, ICPS 936/1874 and 2028/1874, NA-CH; Emigration Agent's Report, ICPS 808/1875, NA-CH.

³⁵ Immigration Officer's Report, July 1874, CP 329/1874, NA-CH.

³⁶ Richard P. Davis, *Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics*, pp. 25-50.

Figure 1.2 Emigration Rates From Irish Counties For Assisted Passengers To Canterbury, 1855-76



Sources: Based on R.H. Silcock, "Immigration into Canterbury under the Provincial Government", MA Thesis, Canterbury 1964, Tables 7 and 8.

and Connaught (respectively 10.8 percent and 9.6 percent), a proportion considerably less than their share of total emigration overseas for the period. In the south-west region only Kerry ranked in the first five sending counties to Canterbury and Clare, Cork and Limerick appear to have contributed fewer immigrants than might have been expected. Such striking provincial and county variations would seem to reinforce the common impression that the actions of administrators, rather than market forces, were crucial in determining the regional distribution of Irish emigrants to Canterbury. Admittedly, the role played by these men was an important factor in shaping the composition of the colony's population, but passenger lists are an inadequate basis on which to establish the geographical background of Irish settlers to Canterbury. These records cover only persons emigrating directly to the province from Great Britain and do not take into account the inflow of others who travelled independently, whether from England, Australia or elsewhere. Moreover, the application slips from which they were compiled merely required that prospective migrants record their "county where born and where living lately". Not surprisingly, many simply put down the county where they were working rather than their place of birth. It would be quite mistaken, in my view, to investigate the sources of the Irish Catholic population of Christchurch solely on the basis of these extant listings which are deficient and probably understate the extent of the flow from regions outside Ulster.

What, then, were the Irish regional origins of the city's Catholic population? A glance at the data from a prosopographical study of 1434 individuals, presented in Table 1.2, reveals that over two-fifths of Irish Catholics

Table 1.2 Provincial Proportions Of Irish Catholic Immigrants By Date of Arrival In The Colony, 1855-1918

	1855- 61	1862- 65	1866- 71	1872- 79	Post- 1880
Ulster	14.7	24.8	26.9	33.1	21.7
Leinster	34.5	14.0	16.0	13.9	20.5
Connaught	10.3	22.1	17.9	7.8	22.4
Munster	40.4	39.2	39.1	45.2	35.4

Notes.

1. Sources: Christchurch Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages; Probate Files, CH 171, National Archives, Christchurch; Passenger Lists, Im-CH 4 and Im-15, National Archives, Wellington; Transcript of the Baptismal and Marriage Registers of The Cathedral of The Blessed Sacrament, Lyttelton and Shand's Track, Canterbury Public Library.

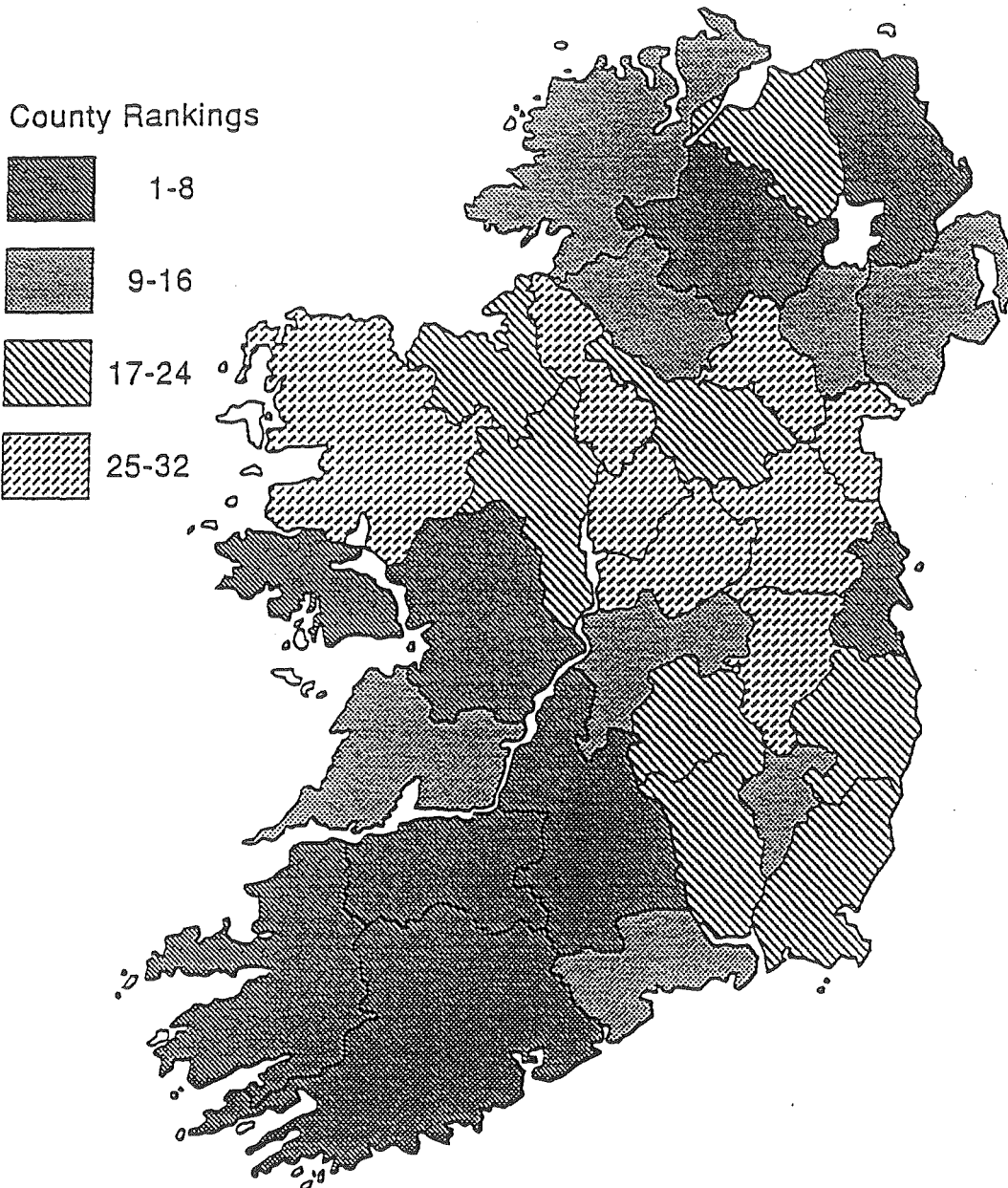
2. Birthplace data was unavailable for 232 persons, or 16.2 percent of the total sample (N = 1434), while details about date of arrival were not established in 150 cases (10.5 percent).

were associated with districts in Munster.³⁷ Emigrants from County Tipperary were numerically greater than elsewhere, but Cork, Limerick and Kerry all ranked in the first five sending counties (see Figure 1.3). Although the proportion of persons from Connaught was relatively light (14.4 percent), County Galway was only marginally second to Tipperary as a source of

³⁷ To determine the significant features of the Catholic Irish migrant stream, its composition and demographic characteristics, I carried out a prosopographical study of all immigrants whose deaths were registered at Christchurch between the years 1876-1918. This sample comprised a total of 1434 individuals, of whom 700 were male and 734 female. Systematic record linkages were undertaken between death certificates, probate files, passenger lists and church registers, while additional qualitative information was gathered from genealogies, newspapers and archival repositories. To be sure, this documentation did not cover every immigrant who arrived in the city and its environs during the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, I am convinced that these records are far more representative than alternative, single listings and provide a more secure basis from which to explore the nature of the migration.

On prosopography, see Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography", in The Past and the Present, (Boston: 1981), pp. 45-73.

Figure 1.3 Regional Origins Of Irish Catholic Immigrants In Christchurch, 1855-1918



Sources: Christchurch Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages;
Probate Files, CH 171, National Archives, Christchurch;
Passenger Lists, IM-CH 4 and IM-15, National Archives, Wellington;
Transcript of the Baptismal and Marriage Registers of The Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament,
Lyttelton and Shands Track, Canterbury Public Library.

emigrants and maintained close ties with Christchurch throughout the nineteenth century. Leinster, like its western counterpart, contributed a small share of total numbers (17.3 percent), but Dublin proved an exception to the wider picture and had forged enduring links with the city by the early 1860s. In Ulster, on the other hand, Counties Antrim and Tyrone were well represented among the immigrants, but movement from the north does not become apparent until after 1862.

There is a central analytical point suggested here. Following the relaxation in the principles guiding immigrant selection during the late 1850s Canterbury had experienced a growing surge of Catholic newcomers from Southern and Western Ireland whose appearance and demeanour alarmed predominantly Anglican settlers. Believing the province would be swamped by a large, rowdy minority of "Southern country Papists", its leaders acted to hinder further infusions of undesirables by instructing Emigration Agents that "Irish Emigrants should be refused altogether".³⁸ As a consequence, administrators based in London played a greater role in determining regional distribution of assisted immigrants relative to market forces than had previously been the case. While they could not stem the flow of migrants travelling from elsewhere, or curtail the cumulative effects of the nomination system, these officials became more vigilant in their choice of passengers and recruited larger proportions of Ulstermen and women, whom they considered were more likely to be non-Catholics. For these reasons, the composition of Christchurch's Irish population

³⁸ Provincial Secretary to Marshman, 13 December 1863, CP 607d/13 NA-CH.

acquired an increasing infusion from the north while retaining a south-western orientation formed during the period 1859-65. The distinctive geographical pattern that resulted can be situated at a mid-point between those of the mass movements to the United States and Canada.

Another important finding from this study is that nearly half of the sample could not be traced to existing passenger lists and presumably travelled to Canterbury independently from Great Britain or elsewhere. It is impossible to determine precisely how many left places other than those in which they were born prior to their voyage, or their length of residence at alternative destinations, but some impressionistic observations can be made. Firstly, it is apparent that a significant minority had moved to Christchurch from the Australian colonies of Victoria and New South Wales. Michael O'Brien of Ennis, County Clare, for example, was apprenticed by his family to a naval bootmaker at the Chatham dockyards where he worked for ten years before emigrating to Australia in 1861 to seek gold. One year later O'Brien followed the gold-trail to Otago and then Westland, establishing a bootmaking business there in 1866, a venture that proved so successful that he was able to open a larger enterprise in Christchurch in 1884.³⁹ The circumstances surrounding Margaret Gegan's departure to Victoria are less clear, but it is known that she married Thomas Higgins in Castlemaine in 1863 and moved to New Zealand one year later.⁴⁰ Similarly, Limerick-born Catherine Burrows married her English husband,

³⁹ Death Index, 373/1909; Marist Messenger, 1 January, 1957. The will of Michael O'Brien has been lost.

⁴⁰ The Will of Margaret Gegan, 7452/1911, NA-CH; Death Index, 275/1911.

Samuel, in Bendigo in 1859, yet the couple were resident in Canterbury by 1861, barely two years after their wedding.⁴¹ Other immigrants such as Johanna Bates, however, had spent intervals of varying durations in England,⁴² while some, like Daniel Byrne and William Shea, had lived in the United States.⁴³ This pattern of previous migratory experience was true even for many assisted passengers to Canterbury. Mary Barrett,⁴⁴ Ellen Howard⁴⁵ and Margaret Bruns⁴⁶, for example, were each married in London and both Mary and Ellen sailed to the colony with families that included children born in England. A reasonable inference that might be drawn from these case studies is that many Irish Catholic settlers--perhaps even a clear majority--were more "colonialized" prior to arrival at their point of destination than contemporaries encountering the harsh realities of American life. This conclusion, though tentative, accords with Keith Pickens's thoughtful analysis of the Canterbury volume of the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, which reported that a significant number of men of Irish, English or British birth in the upper and middle reaches

⁴¹ The Will of Catherine Burrows, 7643/1912, NA-CH; Death Index, 182/1907 and 410/1912. See also The Will of Samuel Burrows, 5833/1907, NA-CH.

⁴² Death Index, 231/1894 and 410/1902; Birth Index, 307/1878, 1405/1881 and 1441/1884. Johanna Bates of County Limerick married her Tipperary-born husband in London on 10 November 1867.

⁴³ Death Index, 605/1901 and 23/1911.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 301/1892; Im-CH 4/22, NA-W. Mary Barrett arrived in Lyttelton aboard the Mary Ann in 1859 with her husband, Edward, and their five sons.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 352/1906 and 100/1903; The Will of Patrick Howard, 4671/1903, NA-CH; Im-CH 4/45, NA-W. The Howards sailed on the Mermaid in 1862.

⁴⁶ The Will of Margaret Bruns, 8654/1915, NA-CH; Death Index, 507/1915; Im-CH 4/4, NA-W.

Table 1.3 Demographic Characteristics Of Irish Catholic Immigrants, 1855-1918

<u>Characteristics</u>	1855- 61	1862- 65	1866- 71	1872- 79	Post- 1880	<u>Total</u>
Age and Civil Status (%)						
Children (0-14)	7.4	6.9	8.0	6.8	8.0	7.3
Single Adults	43.2	53.9	64.9	55.3	55.0	55.0
Married Adults	49.3	39.2	27.1	37.9	37.0	37.8
Sex of Single Adults (%)						
Males	56.3	56.3	55.3	49.2	56.4	50.1
Females	43.8	43.8	44.7	50.8	43.6	49.9

Notes.

1. All data obtained from the same sources as Table 2.2.
2. Demographic information was unavailable for 197 persons, or 13.7 percent of total sample.

of the local population had resided in the Australasian colonies or elsewhere before moving to the province.⁴⁷

Evidence of sojourns by Irish Catholic settlers at various other points of destination is reflected in the demographic characteristics of the sample (Table 1.3). Altogether nearly two-fifths of the immigrants were married when they arrived in the colony, and of these about one-third had taken their vows in places other than Ireland. Moreover, a small but significant minority of persons who formed unions once in New Zealand elected that option in regions other than Canterbury, with roughly three-quarters doing so in Westland. Also noteworthy is the fact that the proportion of married newcomers appears to have been highest in the first wave of Catholic settlement between 1855 and 1861, a finding which points to the existence of a stable core of established

⁴⁷ K.A. Pickens, "The Origins of the Population of Nineteenth-Century Canterbury", New Zealand Geographer 33 (1977): 69-75.

Table 1.4 Age Distribution of Irish Catholic Immigrants At Date Of Arrival In The Colony, 1851-1918

	0-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-54	55+
<u>Males</u>							
N	38	54	129	136	95	132	21
%	6.3 (13.7)	8.9 (11.7)	21.3 (35.5)	22.5 - (27.0)	15.7 -	21.8 (9.9)	3.5 (1.1)
Male Median Age: 27.5 (22.5)							
<u>Females</u>							
N	77	98	157	111	77	125	36
%	11.3 (14.2)	14.4 (20.4)	23.1 (35.6)	16.3 - (18.3)	11.3 -	18.4 (9.3)	5.3 (1.2)
Female Median Age: 24.9 (21.2)							

Notes.

1. Sources: All data obtained from the same sources as Table 2.2 except figures displayed in brackets which record total age distribution of emigrants from the whole of Ireland as listed in Commission on Emigration and other Population Problems, 1948-1954, (Dublin: 1954), pp. 122, 320.
2. Age-group data were unavailable for 148 decedents, or 10.3 percent of the total sample (N = 1434).

families in the area from the beginning. Though their relative numbers diminished throughout subsequent waves, attached adults only fell below one-third of all immigrants once, during the depression years 1866-1871, and constituted almost 38 percent of the total group throughout the entire period 1855-1918. The importance of families in each wave of immigration is further enhanced when one considers that the majority of assisted single passengers did not venture out alone but travelled in family units, comprising various combinations of parents, siblings, or other kinfolk, many of whom followed on partially pre-paid fares provided by relatives already in Canterbury. Emigration, then, may have strained previously existing relationships and obligations but familial bonds displayed remarkable resilience, notwithstanding the tyranny of distance.

In terms of age, the immigrants were preponderantly older than the vast bulk of their countrymen and women who left Ireland for various destinations (Table 1.4). Unfortunately, Irish age-group statistics do not distinguish between different religious denominations, but there is no valid analytical reason to postulate significant Catholic deviation from the national pattern. Whereas the median age of males and females departing the island from 1851-1920 was 22.5 and 21.2 years respectively, the corresponding averages for sampled decedents (27.5 and 24.9) was considerably greater, highlighting the prevalence of second or third time migrants among the group. This dissimilarity from the larger flow is intensified when one considers that these figures merely record the age at arrival in New Zealand and do not reflect the situation in Canterbury. Consequently, the data considerably understates the extent of the disparity. Other specific contrasts can be drawn but the main implication is clear--Irish Catholic immigrants generally occupied a particular stage in the life cycle that was incongruous with the experience of their brethren, most of whom sailed to the United States. In comparison, they were older, and more likely have been married or have spent considerable periods at other destinations than their North American counterparts.

Ascertaining the socio-economic situation of the migrant stream is a rather more difficult undertaking. Presumably, the overwhelming majority of all adult men and women arrived with few marketable skills other than their labour for most found work as either labourers, navvies or domestic servants, at least initially. Less clear is the pre-migration background at the point of origin. Death certificates, however, contain enough legitimate historical evidence to explore

Table 1.5 Socio-Economic Background Of Irish Catholic Decedents, 1876-1918

<u>Occupation of Father</u>	1855- 61	1862- 65	1866- 71	1872- 79	Post- 1880	<u>Total</u>
Professional	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.6	0.2
Proprietors, Officials etc.	14.5	4.9	13.4	7.7	8.8	8.1
Farmers	48.7	59.9	60.0	51.0	60.8	55.4
Skilled Trades	21.4	15.4	11.9	12.8	9.9	13.7
Semi- and Unskilled	15.4	19.8	21.5	28.2	19.9	22.6

Sources: Christchurch Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages.

the matter, particularly after 1875, when local Registrars were required to list the occupation of the father of a deceased person. This data is not entirely unsuggestive, and provides a useful indicator of prior social status in the absence of wider data.

Table 1.5 cross-tabulates the figures for fathers' occupational standings against the date of arrival of each decedent in the colony. Taking the group as a whole, it is immediately apparent that the immigrants were selected from specific sectors of Irish society. Most striking in this regard is the consistent dominance of farmer's children among every new wave of arrivals, a pattern that gave the inflow a distinctly rural orientation. With respect to the occupational background of the remainder, about one-fifth were either the offspring of skilled tradesmen or petty proprietors, while decedents whose fathers were unskilled wage-earners appear to have been under-represented. Put another way, nearly four-fifths of the sample had been born to middling or landed households, and though many of these probably only eked out a marginal existence in a stultifying economic environment, their progeny had

sufficient resources to seek self-advancement through long-distance migration. Perhaps the best explanation for this configuration, then, turns upon the importance of the costs associated with the passage. The poorest or less experienced migrants with little or no capital were far less likely to undertake the relatively exacting journey to Canterbury, and instead preferred to sail to North America where they constituted a larger portion of post-Famine arrivals. In comparison with the United States, the province, it seems, received some of the best, most innovative Catholic migrants, many of whom were already well-acquainted with the demands of commercial capitalism.

Despite fundamental differences in the timing and composition of the migrant streams to Canterbury and North America, there are remarkable similarities between the two movements. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the collective nature of the emigration. Just as the latter flow effortlessly extended kinship networks across the Atlantic, so too did the former become a chain migration, whereby groups of immigrants related by kinship ties or common origins moved to the city through a set of social arrangements in which people at the destination provided assistance, aid, information, and encouragement to newcomers. In Christchurch, as in the United States, Irish Catholic immigrants were heavily dependent upon kinfolk and friends during the process of relocation and adaptation, a reliance which made the journey a distinctly communal affair and ensured that it was cumulative in its effects. At both destinations, certain fragments of older social networks were transplanted in the New World through emigration.

The centrality of interpersonal connections and the specificity of endpoints in the structure of the migration to Christchurch is well illustrated in the case of folk from Galway. This particular county furnished large numbers of immigrants for the purposes of prosopographical study, but most appear to have been associated with a few north-eastern districts and a clear majority had been born within a fifty-mile radius of the towns of Headford and Tuam. These areas of recruitment, which extended west as far as Oughterard and north to Shrule in County Mayo, were linked to Christchurch by a steady stream of assisted immigrants arriving from mid-1860 until late 1861. The first voyages of the *William Miles*, the *Sebastopol*, the *Rhea Sylvia* and the *Chrysolite*, were especially important in establishing this connection and the pioneer settlers sailing on these vessels were reinforced with relative frequency by subsequent arrivals from Great Britain or elsewhere.⁴⁸ Other places in Ireland forged similar bonds with the city from early on, and of these, rural localities situated close to the towns of Nenagh in County Tipperary, Ballycastle in County Antrim, Tralee in County Kerry, and Fermoy in County Cork were prominent. No doubt some of the immigrants travelled outside social networks of this kind, but the genealogical data adduced from primary sources used in this analysis would tend to support the view that this was a family-oriented chain migration. Though not amenable to precise statistical measurement, the evidence indicates a pattern of movement that was neither random nor immutable, but structured, socially cohesive and closely tied to familial and communal networks.

⁴⁸ Im-CH 4/31, 4/33, 4/35 and 4/36, NA-W; Henry Selfe Selfe to Provincial Secretary, 24 April 1861, ICPS 1378/1861, NA-CH.

One piece of evidence consistent with this interpretation is the frequency and vigour with which all Irish groups utilised the provincial nomination regulations to bring friends to the colony. This method of immigrant enlistment developed from the beginning of the provincial administration as a means to ameliorate labour shortages by enabling settlers to assist working people whom they had known previously to join them in Canterbury.⁴⁹ While the nomination system considerably reduced the amount of recruitment work undertaken the provincial government and the amount of subsidies it was required to pay on each passage, the scheme also held advantages for its beneficiaries. Most importantly, it provided state resources to receiving networks constructed by previous immigrants which functioned as superior lines of communication about jobs, housing and social customs in the region. In addition, prospective migrants stood to benefit in other ways. The costs of their voyage had been pre-paid by relatives and friends already in the province, they were subject to less searching scrutiny from emigration agents than assisted passengers, and when they arrived there was someone to meet them.⁵⁰ Thus two government schemes, one of which was markedly less formal, operated side by side and continued to do so even when the General Government assumed responsibility for immigration in 1870.

While the nomination programme facilitated a steady flow of newcomers into Canterbury, its major flaw for local politicians and administrators was that it introduced too many Irish immigrants. Provincial leaders clearly understood

⁴⁹ Silcock, p. 167.

⁵⁰ Macdonald, "Single Women Immigrants...", p. 106.

the collective process of Irish migration and had moved to limit its escalation by the early 1860s.⁵¹ In 1863 the Provincial Secretary, T.W. Maude, complained to the Emigration Agent, John Marshman, that a "very large disproportion" existed between the Irish and the rest of the population and advised him of the government's desire for fewer Irish arrivals. "The Government", he continued,

are not disposed to continue the assistance to the Irish except in the case of their being sent for by their friends and then it is the option of the Government to refuse the application or not as they think fit. A person sending for near relatives should I think receive assistance...There is one point which could be gained which is that no assisted passages should be given to Irish except where the passages are covered by bills and here the Government are responsible for accepting the application.⁵²

Marshman's own figures for the period 1863-7 show that he had endeavoured to comply with these instructions. Whereas the Irish had constituted two-fifths of all government assisted immigrants arriving between 1 January 1861 and 31 March 1862, only half that proportion made the journey during the years immediately following, and their numbers had been

⁵¹ Few Irish-born Catholics ventured to the province before 1859. Census figures from 1854 indicate that only 2.8 percent of Canterbury's inhabitants subscribed to the Catholic faith, and of these nearly half were French-born settlers and their children residing in the district of Akaroa. By contrast, English colonists comprised 84.5 percent of all inhabitants, a figure almost matched by the proportion of Anglicans in the population (82.8 percent). The Census of 1861 reveals that the group constituted around 5.0 percent of the province's population, a figure that had increased to 10.3 percent by 1878. Thereafter, the proportion of Catholic Irish and their off-spring remained relatively steady, increasing only marginally by the end of the century (11.0 percent). See Canterbury Gazette, Vol. 1., 1 July 1854 and Vol. 9., 4 June 1862; Statistics of New Zealand, 1859, pp. iv-v; Census of New Zealand, 1878, Table vi, p. 257, and 1901, Table vi, p. 88.

⁵² Provincial Secretary to Marshman, 12 February 1863, CP 607d/13 1863, NA-CH.

Table 1.6 Nationality Of Assisted Emigrants To Canterbury, 1863-1867

<u>Mode</u>	English	Welsh	Scotch	Irish	Other	Total
<u>Colonial Nomination</u>						
N	476	11	222	816	36	1561
%	30.5	0.7	14.2	52.3	2.3	100.0
<u>Agent's Selection</u>						
N	3080	75	1354	557	154	5220
%	59.0	1.4	25.9	10.7	3.0	100.0
<u>Total Assisted</u>						
N	3556	86	1576	1373	190	6781
%	52.4	1.3	23.2	20.2	2.8	100.0

Notes.

1. Sources: Figures based on Canterbury Gazette, Vol. 15, September 5 1868, p. 205.
2. These figures cover the period from April, 1863, to September, 1867.

sharply curtailed by late 1867 (Table 1.6). This is especially evident in relation to selected migrants, where discriminatory recruitment preferences worked against Irish applicants. In 1863, Marshman accepted a total of 196 persons from this category, but one year later recruitments had dropped to 89, with further declines in 1866-7. Throughout the four year period only ten percent of assisted berths were granted to Ireland, while Scots comprised one-quarter of all such passengers and the English three-fifths.

Nonetheless, the effects of these selection practices were partially ameliorated by the actions of ordinary Irishmen and women who utilised the bills system to bring their relatives and friends to the colony. Altogether, 52.3 percent of all nominees were from Ireland, a figure that easily surpassed the corresponding totals for other nationality groups, including the English (30.5 percent). Even though they were confronted with conditions not wholly

conducive to their purposes, the Irish, it seems, possessed a limited margin of freedom which they exploited as fully as circumstances allowed. The government, for its part, was reluctant to jettison an inexpensive source of labour, notwithstanding persistent complaints about its composition and strident calls that the scheme be terminated. By manipulating the nomination system to their own ends in this manner, the Irish demonstrated that they were capable of turning their weakness back against the powerful.

An analysis of the only surviving nomination register for Canterbury from the nineteenth century reiterates the patterns observed above (Table 1.7).⁵³ Altogether, nearly two-fifths of all nomination forms for this period were directed to persons living in Ireland, and of these more than half could be identified as Roman Catholics. The proportion of bills that went to England surpassed the combined Irish total, but comparatively few were dispatched to Scotland, Wales or other places.⁵⁴ A significant feature of the documentation

⁵³ Im 10/1, NA-W. Also noteworthy is the correspondence contained in Im-CH Series 2, NA-W, which includes a number a letters to Irish Catholic settlers concerning the nomination of relatives and friends. See, for example, Immigration Officer to Patrick Henley, 29 May 1873, Im-CH 2/1, NA-W; Immigration Officer to Nano O'Connell, 10 August 1877 and 15 August 1877, Im-CH 2/5, NA-W; Immigration Officer to Michael O'Neill, April 14 1880, Im-CH 2/8, NA-W.

⁵⁴ These data understate the frequency with which Catholics used the scheme as many of their bills were posted to migrants already resident in England or elsewhere. William and Johanna Lemasney, for example, had married and lived in Monmouthshire, Wales, for a number of years before their departure to the colony aboard the Edwin Fox, while a Tipperary-born bootmaker, Thomas Shannon, was residing in East London when he accepted a nominated passage in 1873; see Im 10/1, 1664/1872 and 1817/1873, NA-W; Im-CH 4/99 and 4/105, NA-W; Birth Index, 1061/1877; Death Index, 673/1902. Such cases as these lend support to inferences drawn from the prosopographical sample, which posited a high likelihood of colonial experience prior to embarkation to New Zealand.

Table 1.7 Destination Of Nomination Forms From Canterbury, 1872-1874

<u>Destination</u>	England	Scotland	Ireland	Wales	Germany	Other
<u>Nominations</u>						
N	344	62	281	16	13	18
%	46.9	8.5	38.2	2.2	1.8	2.5
<u>Nominees</u>						
N	1315	168	780	69	40	58
%	54.1	6.9	32.1	2.8	1.6	2.4

Sources: Im 10/1, NA-W, beginning 1657/1872 and ending 2370/1874.

is that Irish Catholics tended to recognise a wider range of kin than other groups and were far more likely to sponsor brothers, sisters, cousins or friends. At the same time, their nominations consistently displayed greater sensitivity to prevailing labour market conditions during the period under consideration, and favoured single male and female workers over larger family units, a class of emigrant least desired in the colony. The effect of this strategy is reflected in the mean number of persons included on the group's nomination forms (2.6), a figure considerably less than that for England (3.8) but only marginally less than the corresponding averages for Scotland and the non-Catholic Irish (2.7 and 3.0). In this way, receiving networks in the community of settlement were very much involved in the process of migration, acting as superior lines of information and assistance for members at the point of origin. The performance of these services, in turn, supported the continuing vitality of existing network structures and ensured that newcomers would be provided with material necessities and social connections for their adjustment to a new environment.

In this chapter, I have argued that the movement of Irish Catholics to the city is best viewed as part of a complex phenomenon that was highly structured and highly selective in relation to its points of origin and destination. The immigrants, as a whole, were neither tradition-bound peasants nor atomized individuals on the make. Instead, they were the products of specific social categories and regions experiencing the exigencies of world capitalism, who were nonetheless capable of creating sufficient room for purposeful action within rather narrow limits.

Whether or not Irish Catholics sailed directly to Christchurch from Great Britain, or made their way to the city from elsewhere, the migrant stream represented a small part of a mass movement of clusters of people linked to one another by acquaintance and kinship ties. While these persons differed from their contemporaries who emigrated to the United States during the post-Famine decades in terms of their regional origins and the extent to which they received government assistance in making their way to their chosen destination, the familial context in which decisions to relocate were made points to underlying similarities between the two movements. Most newcomers were part of extensive, socially cohesive kinship relationships which functioned long after the moment of displacement. Although these personal networks constrained potential migrants, in that they prevented them from considering a wider range of alternative destinations beyond those with which their place of origin had strong links, they were also enabling because they permitted the cultivation of extensive associational ties which proved useful for domesticating and appropriating a new environment. In Christchurch, as in other destinations, the

existence and centrality of dense, interpenetrative associative networks constituted a key organisational influence which partly shaped the nature of the inflow and provided building blocks for the construction of community on the basis of ethnicity.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM IMMIGRANTS TO ETHNICS

On a spring day in September, 1886, Patrick Henley, president of the New Headford branch of the Australasian Hibernian Society, offered a purse of sovereigns to a man of "sterling and undying patriotism" whom he described as "our dear Soggart Aroon". The recipient of the gift was Thomas Walsh, a young secular priest born in Mooncoin in the diocese of Ossory, educated at the University school, Waterford, and the Missionary College of All Hallows, Dublin, prior to his ordination for the New Zealand diocese of Wellington in 1883.¹ Appreciative of the generosity and deference displayed toward him, Walsh phrased an eloquent reply in language that struck a deep chord with the Irish audience gathered to witness this symbolic exchange: "What an apt and striking appellation your society bears! Catholic would not be sufficient--Hibernian is enough. Both united embrace everything of which a Catholic Irishman should be jealously proud...Hibernian is your name, Catholic is your surname."²

The explicit synonymy of the terms "Irish" and "Catholic" in Walsh's rhetoric has much wider significance in the context of immigrant orientations and behaviour than this stylised encounter suggests. During the 1870s and 1880s the language of ethnicity penetrated immigrant perceptions to an

¹ Kevin Condon, The Missionary College of All Hallows, 1842-1891, (Dublin: All Hallows College, 1986), p. 347.

² New Zealand Tablet, 1 October 1886.

unprecedented degree, constituting something of a "grand controlling metaphor" that located whole bodies of social practices on an intelligible experiential map.³ In Christchurch and its environs, the parish church became the central institution in local Irish Catholic life, and around it a wide variety of formal, ethnic associations were erected to nourish the cultural, spiritual and social needs of its members. For the majority of newcomers, religion emerged as the primary origin and expression of Irish identity, a source of comfort and continuity that held forth a promise of spiritual and political redemption in the future. This lay interpretation of Irishness was reinforced with varying degrees of intensity by clerical leaders, who viewed the metaphor of Irish nationality within a predominantly religious frame of reference and extolled the virtues of a holy and cruelly oppressed "Isle of Erin". By the late nineteenth century, the creative synthesis of formal religion and Irishness had succeeded in enveloping Irish Catholics in a comprehensive network of personal relationships, parish organisations and ethnic institutions which provided some unanimity of communal purpose and obscured potential class conflict. Notwithstanding the diversity of outlooks and interests within the group, religious identification offered a useful resolution of ethnic tensions and traditions, while ensuring the continuing vitality of a separate spiritual, educational and social life alongside the dominant local system.

³ For a brilliant discussion of "metaphor" in historical ethnography, see Rhys Isaac, "A Discourse on the Method", in The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), esp. pp. 323-25, 347, 349-51.

In what ways, then, were aspects of an inherited Old World culture "handled" by the immigrants? How do we account for the process of ethnic consciousness-making in a colonial context? A plausible explanation for its expression in the patterning of Irish group social relations is that it constituted a defensive reaction against anti-Irish prejudice. As I noted in the previous chapter, there was considerable ambivalence toward the Irish in Canterbury and they were generally regarded as undesirable immigrants, especially during the 1860s. The settlement's founders, the Canterbury Association, had sought to establish a balanced, agricultural settlement restricted to members of the Church of England which they hoped would replicate the social and economic hierarchy of the English rural community.⁴ Such a scheme had little use for the sons and daughters of west Munster tenant farmers or Connemara labourers. Nonetheless, the aspirations of leaders of the Association were not realised and religious exclusiveness was an ideal soon abandoned by provincial administrators who needed to satisfy a persistent demand for agricultural labourers, shepherds and domestic servants.⁵ While immigrant recruitment was never intended to extend "beyond the pale", the attraction of subsidised passages, reasonable wages and cheap land lured a steady stream of Irish Catholics to the colony throughout the 1860s and 1870s.

To what extent, however, did Catholic Irish immigrants face unfair discrimination in the cradle of Protestantism? Many non-Catholic settlers no

⁴ L.C. Webb, "The Canterbury Association and its Settlement", in James Hight and C.R. Straubel (eds.), A History of Canterbury, Volume 1: To 1854, (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1957), pp. 135-233.

⁵ Silcock, pp. 5-10, 23.

doubt brought with them a vast reservoir of distorted, negative stereotypes about Irish Catholics, and looked upon their fellow colonists with a mixture of curiosity and suspicion.⁶ In general, Victorian Protestants deeply distrusted Roman Catholic clerics and institutions, particularly the convent and the Confessional, and could neither accept nor understand the ideal of priestly asceticism. As Philip Ingram has convincingly argued, the idea of a celibate priesthood seemed to contravene the authority of marriage and the family for those exposed to tales of clerical promiscuity in popular essays and novels such as *Maria Monk*.⁷ Anxieties about priestly intent permeated all social classes in Victorian Britain and provided fertile ground for the growth of anti-Catholicism. Moreover, the rituals of the church and its religious pageantry offended fragile Protestant sensibilities, and fostered a widespread view that these aspects of Catholicism blunted the moral feelings of its adherents and blighted them with the stain of idolatry.

A limited amount of anti-Irish and anti-Catholic prejudice and bigotry existed in Canterbury throughout the nineteenth century. The provincial government, for example, attempted to stem the flow of assisted migrants from Southern Ireland during the 1860s, while attentive audiences gathered to hear

⁶ Some evidence for this assertion can be found in shipboard diaries. Fanny Horrell, for example, who sailed to Lyttelton aboard the *Piako* (s. 11 October 1878 and arr. 5 March 1879), described her co-travellers in this way: "My mess mates are all English girls and respectable, but there are some queer looking characters here. I don't think I should be very comfortable if I had to mess with some of them. There a great many Irish Roman Catholics. They do make a fuss over their prayers, saying 'Mother Mary of God pray for us'." See *The Journal of Fanny Horrell*, 129/64, CM; Im-CH 4/172, NA-W.

⁷ Philip Ingram, "Protestant Patriarchy and the Catholic Priesthood in Nineteenth-Century England", *Journal of Social History* 24 (1991): 783-97.

"reformed priests" like the apostate Catholic, Pastor Charles Chiniquy, who visited the province in 1880.⁸ Nonetheless, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that this form of sentiment was quite mild in Canterbury, despite its status as an intently Protestant region. There is no evidence to suggest that immigrants faced prohibitions of the type encountered by Irish-Americans along the eastern seaboard of the United States, where the "NINA" ("No Irish Need Apply") syndrome was firmly entrenched. To be sure, some provincial leaders castigated the Irish as a particularly troublesome, disorderly people, prone to excessive drunkenness and rowdyism.⁹ Moreover, employers of domestic help occasionally complained about the inability of single Irishwomen to carry out the duties associated with their position.¹⁰ But these forms of criticism were never expressed with great intensity or consistency, and did not lead to high levels of mutual hostility between different immigrant groups. For this reason, Canterbury had no real counterpart to the Draft Riots which occurred in New

⁸ Michael O'Meehan, Held Firm By Faith: A History of the Catholic Diocese of Christchurch, 1840-1897, (Christchurch: 1988), pp. 135-39.

⁹ Greenaway, pp. 200-201; Henry Selfe Selfe to Provincial Secretary, 24 April 1861, ICPS 1378/1861, NA-CH; Provincial Secretary to Marshman, July 9 1862, CP 605/2, NA-CH; John Marshman to Provincial Secretary, 24 January 1863, ICPS 647/1863, NA-CH.

¹⁰ Press, 12 April 1867, p. 2: "[A]n employer is compelled either to do without a servant at all, or to pay for idle, ignorant, unskilled service as though it were the most valuable of its kind. For the best class of servants marry quickly, and unless the supply is kept up by fresh arrivals, the residue is of a very inferior description. Housemaids who have never handled a broom, cooks who scarcely know the difference between roast meat and boiled, and whose highest practical achievements in the art have been limited to preparing potatoes...for the Sunday dinner in the wilds of Connemara--these are the domestics who an unhappy householder in Christchurch is expected to take into his home, and pay £30 a year for the privilege of teaching them the first rudiments of service."

York in 1863, or the anti-Irish and anti-Catholic riots that convulsed Philadelphia in 1844.¹¹

The reaction of Protestant settlers to their Catholic Irish neighbours may have catalyzed a degree of ethnic group defensiveness, but it lacked fervour and cannot adequately explain the process of ethnicization. This does not mean that an Irish Catholic identity was entirely self-created, because it came into being through the perception and ascription of outsiders as well as the responses and self-definition of those perceived. Rather, I am suggesting that if we are to better understand the emergence of ethnic consciousness among immigrants who were purposive reasoning agents, then we need to examine the group's inner experience and development. Inter-ethnic conflict, in my view, was much less significant in heightening ethnic consciousness than the controversies and disagreements which raged within the nascent Catholic Irish community itself. Internal friction not only helped to sketch the basic parameters of group life, but stimulated ethnic self-understanding by effectively deepening the involvement of immigrants in Irish ethnicity.

Initially, at least, Catholic Irish immigrants who came to live in and around Christchurch displayed few signs of intensified ethnic awareness. The migrant stream comprised quite distinct elements, each of which had different

¹¹ The Christchurch "riot" of Boxing Day, 1879, pitted a group of Catholic males against two Orange processions. This incident lasted a quarter of an hour and resulted in few injuries. See Sean G. Brosnahan, "The Battle of the Borough and the Saige O'Timaru: Sectarian Riot in Colonial Canterbury", unpublished paper presented at the New Zealand Historical Association Conference, May, 1991.

backgrounds, loyalties and attachments according to their regional origins, time of exodus and position in the life cycle. Diverse and disorganised, newcomers brought with them a wide variety of perspectives, motivations and opinions. To be sure, the influx included a handful of ethnocentric nationalists devoted to the sacred cause of a free, unified Irish state. But it was only an élite segment, small in number, that articulated a sophisticated, well-developed understanding of nationalism upon arrival. By contrast, the majority of immigrants were absorbed in building lives of their own within rather narrow boundaries, and lacked either the numbers or socio-economic resources to provide a strong basis for Irish ethnicity. Scattered widely, internally factionalized and without effective clerical or lay leadership they confronted obstacles which mitigated against the maturation of group consciousness or shared interests that could be used to effect group mobilization. Significantly, the rise of a heightened ethnic consciousness in the 1870s and 1880s coincided with the belated arrival of Irish clergy and the emergence of a thin middle class of farmers, hotelkeepers, shop owners and priests who had come from humble stock and shared the sympathies and experiences of their countrymen and women.

Despite initial fragmentation, the presence of informal and formal structures within the nascent ethnic community had the potential to keep immigrant social relations inside its boundaries. In particular, the existence and centrality of family-oriented migration chains in the movement of Irish to the city provided circumstances well suited to the development of ethnic institutions. These private, interpersonal bases of group action were extended as newcomers endeavoured to reconstruct the foundations of inherited culture

in the context of daily social life through the perpetuation of friendship ties, marriage, residential bonding, household formation and so on. Informal group activities of this kind broadened the attachments of members of sub-groups beyond the realm of their immediate kin and constituted an important prerequisite for the subsequent rise of ethnic association patterns and the appearance of ethnic institutions. The establishment of churches, sectarian schools, confraternities and mutual-aid organisations not only widened the structural separation of Irish Catholics in a formalistic sense, but also furnished public bases for a flourishing ethnic social substructure. This expansion, in turn, fed on both formal and informal streams of activity, each of which reinforced the other by increasing the cohesiveness and solidity of already existing associative networks.¹²

During the early years of Catholic settlement, informal patterns of social bonding came to be expressed spatially in rural neighbourhoods on the periphery of the city, where localised, Old World loyalties were maintained in small, clustered settlements. At Broadfields, for example, a tightly woven group of colonists settled in an area which extended along Shand's Track as far as present day Lincoln. The first Catholic arrivals in the district had made the voyage out on three ships, the *Clontarf*, the *William Miles* and the *Chrysolite*, and most had strong associations with Nenagh, County Tipperary. These bonds were strengthened subsequently as newcomers brought out by family and

¹² The distinction between formal and informal social organisation in relation to ethnic communities is discussed by Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants", *American Journal of Sociology* 70 (1964): 193-205.

friends joined the pioneering cohort, a process that spanned a period of fifteen years. Similar settlement patterns emerged in other areas, with particularly strong contingents of Catholic Irish clustering around Halswell, Leeston, and Bingsland.¹³

Neighbourhood communities like these drew immigrants together in tangled webs of kinship relations and mutual support, enabling fragments of older social networks to be re-established in the colony. In many cases settlers had known one another quite intimately prior to the moment of migration, while some had forged connections with receiving networks through information acquired at home or in Australia. Once in the community, all had their social relations sharply prescribed by membership of the group. Clustered settlements of this type fostered a high degree of cultural continuity and may even have imparted a profound sense of detachment from the host society. Yet, residential bonding represented more than a defensive strategy. Engaged in small-scale dairying or subsistence agriculture on holdings that were seldom greater than twenty acres, most of these newcomers eked out a very precarious existence even with the assistance of relatives and friends. A reliance on familial ties, together with the nascent fusion of ethnicity and kinship, was a purposeful activity that allowed the immigrants to bring a constraining environment into closer conformity with their purposes.

Not all Irish Catholics, of course, lived in rural kinship communities of this type. For many, the casual, intermittent nature of wage labour in Canterbury encouraged an itinerant way of life, and people moved from location to location,

¹³ Im-CH 4/29, 4/31 and 4/35, NA-W; Land Registry Office, Christchurch.

and job to job as circumstances or seasons demanded. The need for constant geographical mobility was especially pressing for unlanded male workers, whose services were eagerly sought after from spring to autumn on the larger farms, estates and runs, but no longer required during the bleak winter months.¹⁴

With few marketable skills or capital upon their arrival, Irishmen secured only a tenuous foothold in the province's secondary labour market, working as labourers, harvesters, ploughmen and general farm hands.¹⁵ Large numbers found work at road-making or railway construction, while others sought wages carting goods from trains or transporting materials to and from provincial development projects. Typically these jobs involved heavy lifting or digging, employment that demanded a great deal in terms of strength and tenacity, but little in the way of skill or experience. The instability and irregularity of these low-paying types of work restricted the range of opportunities available to male immigrants and encouraged the adoption of various strategies to supplement

¹⁴ Silcock, pp. 70-71. Compare, for example, Immigration Officer's Report, 31 December 1874, Im-CH 5/2, NA-W, with Immigration Officer's Report, 31 March 1876, Im-CH 5/4, NA-W.

¹⁵ The level of remuneration which they could expect to receive for their toil varied according to prevailing seasonal rates and the age, quality and marital status of an individual worker. At the height of the harvest in 1869, for example, wages for single men ranged from £60 and £78 per annum with full rations, but had bottomed out to between £30 to £40 at the corresponding time in 1871. Boys were paid around £15 in the late 1860s, while married couples without children consistently earned between £50 and £70 with rations throughout the period 1860-80. This latter group was in continual demand in the colony, a situation that did not pass unnoticed among attached Irish migrants whose securement of assisted or nominated passages represented a shrewd response to labour market conditions at the point of destination. See Immigration Officer's Reports, ICPS 1491/1861, 760/1865, 1501/1867, 59/1869 and 170/1871, NA-CH; Marshman to Provincial Secretary, 25 July 1861, ICPS 1739/1861, NA-CH; Provincial Secretary to Duncan, 29 August 1873, ICPS 1447/1873, NA-CH.

meagre incomes, including a willingness to move about regularly in search of work.

Persistent insecurity also obliged a greater reliance on the paid and unpaid activities of women, whose contributions to the domestic economy formed part of a larger pattern of familial and kin mutual support with its origins in Ireland. Irish housewives not only took responsibility for household chores, but cared for the family dairy cow and took in boarders or roomers. Their labours, meanwhile, were further supplemented by their daughters who went into domestic service from an early age, considerably boosting household incomes with their wages. The survival of a strong female role within the Irish Catholic family considerably extended the range of strategies available for coping with economic uncertainty in a new environment and was a crucial factor in facilitating group social mobility.

A perpetual shortage of domestic servants in the province meant that there was much less variation in demand for the services of Irish women over the course of the year and from year, a pattern that held even in times of economic recession.¹⁶ Single Irish women on assisted passages, like those of other nationalities, were quickly engaged by affluent Canterbury families, sometimes less than twenty-four hours after their arrival at the Immigration Barracks.¹⁷ Moreover, the level of remuneration which they could expect to receive for personal service remained steady throughout the 1860s and 1870s.

¹⁶ Macdonald, "Single Woman...", pp. 43-44.

¹⁷ Immigration Officer's Reports, ICPS 1950/1864, 1117/1866, 946/1868, 59/1869 and 460/1871, NA-CH.

Girls aged from twelve to fifteen years of age, for example, earned between £12 and £15 per annum, while their counterparts aged sixteen to eighteen obtained up to £25.¹⁸ In general, wages during the period ranged from £15 to £40 per annum depending on the age, experience and quality of an individual worker.¹⁹

Domestic service in the homes of the well-to-do may have placed Irish Catholic women under the close scrutiny of their employers, but their position was relatively secure compared to the chronic fluctuations of the male labour market. In consequence, these women were able to accumulate savings with which they brought over relatives from Ireland, supported devotions in the Catholic church, and provided a nest-egg for marriage. Furthermore, live-in help furnished important fringe benefits such as full board and lodging, or gifts of discarded clothing and furniture which were no longer of use to their employers. Although ties of affection sometimes developed between employers and their servants, Irish Catholic women seldom stayed in a situation for long.²⁰ Many single women married within the first two years of residence in the colony, while most eagerly exploited the insistent market demand for female workers

¹⁸ Ibid., ICPS 1117/1866, NA-CH.

¹⁹ Ibid., ICPS 1491/1861, 112/1866, 323/1867, 1095/1867, and 946/1868, NA-CH. See also Immigration Officer's Report, 31 March 1876, Im-CH 5/4, NA-W.

²⁰ Such was the case for English writer, Sarah Courage, and her "faithful and stolid" Irish maid, "Mary". See Sarah Amelia Courage, Lights and Shadows of Colonial Life: Twenty-Six Years in Canterbury New Zealand, (Christchurch: Whitcoulls, 1976), pp. 26-34.

inside domestic and personal service by changing engagements frequently in response to working conditions and familial obligations.²¹

Transience was a pervasive facet of immigrant life for both sexes but it did not lead to atomization or a breakdown of familial co-operation. Irish migrants were well accustomed to patterns of temporary itinerancy and responded to situational exigencies with resilience and tactical virtuosity. Although recurrent economic uncertainty may have sharpened feelings of ambivalence toward colonial life, but it also promoted a dependence on collectivist strategies. In particular, migrants made extensive use of informal ethnic and kinship networks which provided advice and information about work and accommodation, and material assistance in times of need. During the summer, for example, Catholic Irish families and individuals maintained close contacts with kinfolk as they moved together around the countryside in search of employment, while newly arrived settlers were often met by relatives with whom they went to live as boarders.

Indicative of this larger pattern of mutual support was the high esteem with which localised kin ties were held among the group. This preference is clearly reflected in the baptismal registers of the Church of the Blessed Sacrament.²² The grant of godparentage implied a great deal of trust on behalf of parents toward certain named individuals who agreed to provide for the child in the event of anything happening to the parents. It is significant that immigrants invariably chose Irish Catholic friends to act as sponsors where

²¹ Macdonald, "Single Women...", pp. 206-45.

²² Tr.Bapt.reg. CBS, Canterbury Public Library.

Table 2.1 Irish Catholic Marriage Patterns, Christchurch, 1860-1889

<u>Sex</u>	1860-69		1870-79		1880-89	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Female</u>						
Endogamous	44	69.8	57	73.0	28	71.8
Exogamous	19	30.2	21	27.0	11	28.2
<u>Male</u>						
Endogamous	38	95.0	50	98.0	24	96.0
Exogamous	2	5.0	1	2.0	1	4.0

Sources: Transcript of the Marriage Register of the Church of the Blessed Sacrament, Canterbury Public Library; Christchurch Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages; Passenger Lists, Im-CH 4 and Im-15, National Archives, Wellington.

immediate relatives were unavailable, thereby placing these fictive kinship ties on the same level as familial collectivism.²³ Such types of interaction created sets of enduring social relations shaped by very specific values and beliefs, which in turn strengthened an emergent ethnic subculture.

The effectiveness of the inter-personal connections which bound immigrants together in tangled webs of mutuality were further extended by high rates of in-group endogamy. The selection of a marriage partner not only entailed the formation of certain loyalties and moral obligations, but also represented a vital means for the development of primary relations or alliances between groups and individuals. In their matrimonial behaviour, Catholic Irish immigrants constructed and maintained a clear social distinction between those

²³ This practice is comparable to that described by Maureen Molloy in a study of the Highland Scots community in nineteenth-century Waipu, "Friends, Neighbours, and Relations: The Practice of Kinship in Waipu, New Zealand, 1857-1917", *Journal of Family History* 14 (1989): 313-30.

who belonged to an inner circle and those who did not. Not surprisingly, Catholic clergy actively encouraged and perpetuated this pattern within their administrative boundaries, using both the pulpit and the weight of their spiritual authority to inhibit exogamous unions with members of other groupings.²⁴

While it is difficult to calculate the precise degree of endogamy among Irish Catholics, data adduced from vital events sources and church registers indicates a strong preference for endogamous unions (Table 2.1). In a sample of 296 marriages from the period 1860-89, nearly all single male immigrants selected partners from within the group (96.6 percent), an extraordinary level of endogamy considering that Catholic men outnumbered women in the province until the mid-1880s.²⁵ By contrast, a larger proportion of women chose partners outside their ethnic marriage field (28.3 percent), though about one-quarter of these still married Roman Catholic men. As many as one-half of the remainder sought and obtained dispensations for mixed marriages before a Catholic priest. In these cases, the non-Catholic partner promised to respect the faith of the Catholic and agreed to bring up the children as Catholics. Overall, the marriage behaviour of immigrant women was still highly endogamous throughout the period under consideration, even though a

²⁴ Circular of the Right Reverend Dr. Redwood, Bishop of Wellington, to his Clergy, 6 June 1876, MAW; Redwood to Chareyre, 23 January 1877, WAA; New Zealand Tablet, 12 April 1878; Redwood to Ginaty, 11 January 1878, MAW.

²⁵ In 1867 there were only 519 Catholic females for every 1000 males in Canterbury, a ratio that had increased to 785 per 1000 in 1878, and 962 per 1000 by 1886. Census of New Zealand, 1867, 1878 and 1886.

significant minority were prepared to cross ethnic boundaries and select mates from outside the emerging group.

The analysis of Catholic Irish marriage behaviour indicates the existence and maintenance of a remarkably strong sense of social identification based on ethnicity. By selecting companions from within their own group, immigrants both sharpened the distinctiveness of the emerging ethnic community and cemented alliances across and between diverse social networks which were consequently redefined and reshaped. Ethnic endogamy greatly deepened informal social interaction among Irish Catholics and facilitated the development of group endo-culture. As a result, older existing kinship and associative fragments were superseded by more solidified, expansive social networks encompassing major segments of the new community.

Although the process of ethnicization was framed in several different contexts, including marriage and work relations, it was sharpened through conflict within Irish institutions and associations. In Christchurch, a long struggle by laity for Irish priests and bitter divisions which arose between religious and secular clergy over the control of church affairs were crucial factors in fostering and reinforcing group identities. Essentially, these disputes arose from a fundamental cleavage within Catholic circles over the shape that Roman Catholicism should assume in the colony. On one hand, Irish secular priests and lay leaders sought to assimilate colonial Catholicity into an Irish spiritual empire and envisioned a religion that primarily expressed Irish interests and Irish attitudes. Theirs was an undeniably narrow and parochial faith, but it

resonated with an extraordinary degree of richness and its religious style and leadership held a great deal of popular appeal. Advocates of this position creatively fused Tridentine Catholicism with Irish nationalism and vigorously emphasised the ethnic needs of local communicants. To achieve their goals they sought to erect the structure of a strong, fully active Catholic community centred around an Irish Bishop, a network of parishes with permanent churches and a school system run by Irish teaching orders.

The Society of Mary, which had held responsibility for the spiritual needs of the region since 1849, considered a strident Irishness incidental to setting up a missionary Church in a new environment. The Marists did not differ in theological or doctrinal understanding from their clerical opponents, but they stood resolutely within the mainstream of international Catholicism and generally embraced a broader, more ecumenical approach to the Canterbury mission. Furthermore, they viewed themselves as itinerant missionaries whose task was to prepare the ground for the establishment of a diocese. After this goal was accomplished the Marists intended to withdraw from parochial work and undertake pastoral responsibilities more in keeping with their spiritual vows. In theory, this approach should have been complementary to that of their secular co-workers. In practice, however, the transition from mission to diocese was not accomplished without considerable acrimony. By the late 1870s, the Society of Mary elected to retain control over the direction of Christchurch, rather than surrender it to a rival tradition of ultra-Irish bishops and domineering Irish clerics.

A central issue in the evolving controversy was the fact that the region's spiritual affairs were administered from Wellington. In 1849 *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* had sought to end a protracted dispute between Bishop Pompallier and the Marist General, Father John Claude Colin, by dividing authority in the colony at the thirty-ninth degree of latitude.²⁶ The Marists were removed to the newly-created diocese of Wellington, encompassing one-half of the North Island and the whole of the South Island, while Pompallier was established as resident bishop in the northern diocese of Auckland with responsibility for the Maori mission. This instruction effectively left a French bishop, Philip Viard, in charge of a large southern pastorate that was rapidly being peopled by Irish migrants and for which he had insufficient resources at his disposal. Between the years 1850-59 there were no resident priests stationed in Canterbury, and though visits were taken to the region by French clerics these were infrequent. It was not until mid-1860 that Viard obtained the first resident priests for Christchurch, following repeated petitions to Rome and the arrival of additional Marists for the first time in sixteen years.²⁷ Fathers Séon and Chataigner took charge of Christchurch and began a long period of pastoral labours by genteel French clergy, whose spiritual control of the region remained unbroken until 1877.²⁸

²⁶ O'Meeghan, p. 53. Father Colin wanted better spiritual and material care of his men than the Bishop was providing, and refused to send more Marist priests until the situation was resolved.

²⁷ Lillian G. Keys, Philip Viard, Bishop of Wellington, (Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1968), pp. 124-30. Father Petitjean said the first Mass at Christchurch on Pentecost Sunday, 31 May 1857.

²⁸ Séon to Provincial Secretary, 28 June 1860, ICPS 420/1860, NA-CH.

These pioneer churchmen received co-operation from local congregations, but they were unable to achieve the degree of sympathy and close identification that the laity reserved for priests of their own nationality.²⁹ In short, the encounter between French apostolic labourers and their Irish flock forced the latter to confront the idea of their ethnic identity. By the 1870s underlying tensions within local Catholic circles were such that lay critics felt compelled to agitate for an Irish bishop and the provision of a sufficient number of Irish priests. Why, they asked, was Christchurch the only one of four main centres without a bishop at a time when the province had emerged as the colony's prime arable region, with a flourishing commercial centre?

Lay dissatisfaction with distant Marist suzerainty and its "foreign clerics" was understandable. Whether or not they had sailed directly to the colony, most of the immigrants had left Irish communities at a time when they had become increasingly defined in terms of religious belief and emotion. The Great Famine, itself, was the occasion as much as the cause of a major transformation in Irish spiritual life that Professor Larkin has labelled the "devotional revolution". The tumultuous years 1845-9 accelerated the process of economic development and massive social change by selecting the majority of its victims from among the poorer sections of Irish society whose behaviour had most concerned the clergy. It left intact a stronger devotional nucleus of respectable tenant farmers than previously, relative to absolute numbers. In consequence, the Catholic Church was entrusted with the spiritual welfare of a

²⁹ Neil Patrick Vaney, "The dual tradition: Irish Catholics and French Priests in New Zealand--the West Coast experience, 1865-1910", M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1976, p. 117.

smaller, more affluent laity that was more docile and more amenable to church discipline than its pre-Famine counterpart. As such, it was in an extremely favourable position to effect ecclesiastical reform along ultramontane lines and consolidate the quiet moral and religious revolution precipitated by the cataclysm. Because the Church had obtained the financial and organizational means to sustain a larger spiritual establishment, it was ready to present its claims more forcefully and to communicate its religious doctrine more thoroughly and with greater power. This task was undoubtedly aided by the support of a laity highly receptive to the forms of influence that the clergy brought to bear.³⁰

The growing effectiveness of Catholicism as a religion in Ireland reflected wider developments in Western Europe during the Pontificate of Pius IX and featured a stronger emphasis on the centrality of the pope together with a steady increase in the numbers and quality of church personnel.³¹ In 1850 there was approximately one priest for every 2000 people in Ireland, but by 1870 there was one for every 1250, a level of expansion that was more than

³⁰ Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-1875", American Historical Review 72 (1972): 625-52; David W. Miller, "Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine", Journal of Social History 9 (1975): 81-98; S.J. Connolly, Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Ireland, (Dublin: Dundalgen Press, 1985), pp. 7-14, 47-60. For a critique of the view that the Famine marked a turning point in the development of Irish Catholicism and in the relationship between the Church and the laity, see Desmond Keenan, The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: A Sociological Study, (Dublin: 1983).

³¹ The long Pontificate of Pius IX, which began with his election on the death of Gregory XVI in 1846, ended in 1878.

matched by the explosion in the numbers of teaching brothers and nuns.³² While the overall numbers of diocesan clergy increased there was a corresponding improvement in their general demeanour following the convocation of the Synod of Thurles by Archbishop Paul Cullen in 1850, which ostensibly laid down a full Tridentine pattern and stamped the new discipline and devotion of a wider Catholic world on the Irish Church. Bishops were expected to exercise closer supervision over their clergy, and the priests themselves became a more committed and strictly disciplined body, intensely dedicated to their chosen profession--a role vividly symbolised by the introduction of a distinctive clerical garb complete with Roman collar. In relation to other aspects of pastoral reform the impact of the national synod was revolutionary, for priests were henceforth expected to acquire baptismal fonts and confessionals and confer the sacraments from the parish church. Moreover, the churches themselves became the centre of a new set of personal devotions that were mainly Italian in character and rewarded spiritually by various indulgences. These popular devotional exercises, that included benediction, rosary, forty-hours devotion and devotions to the Sacred Heart, were directed by the clergy through the establishment of sodalities and confraternities such as St. Vincent de Paul. Their appeal was enhanced by the routine use of devotional aids such as beads, holy pictures and scapulars and the sensual exploration of their intrinsic mystery in the Mass. This subtle but

³² Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution...", pp. 626, 644; Patrick J. Corish, The Irish Catholic Experience: a historical survey, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1985), pp. 199, 203. The number of nuns in Ireland rose steadily from 1,500 in 1850, to 3,700 in 1870, a ratio increase relative to the population of 1:3,000 in 1850, to 1:1,100 in 1870.

penetrating brand of religious instruction was further supplemented by an improvement in the physical circumstances of worship, the addition of more numerous masses, regular parish missions, and a firm emphasis on the quality of the Sunday sermon. The result was a transformation in religious practice expressed in increased attendance at Sunday Mass and mirrored by a corresponding transformation in social discipline across Irish society.³³

The state of spiritual affairs in Canterbury, in comparison, must have been a considerable disappointment, even for those who had experienced colonial life at other points of destination. Priests were encountered infrequently and the skeletal institutional structure of local Catholicism was much less effective and enclosing than that of Irish communities. No doubt there were some newcomers who appreciated this lack of clerical interference. Under the circumstances, it was relatively easy to drift away from the church, confident in the belief that familiar spiritual services were always available should the need arise. Among some sections of the laity religious practices became more instrumental in character and emphasised concrete ends rather than ceremonial observances. Quiet devotional aspects of faith were retained and Catholics remained firmly attached to the rites of baptism, marriage and extreme unction. But many placed considerably less importance on regular attendance at rituals such as Mass, confession and communion except during Missions, when church-going tended to increase dramatically. Others were

³³ Corish, pp. 192-225; S.J. Connolly, Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1982), pp. 264-78; James O'Shea, Priests, Politics and Society in Post-Famine Ireland: A Study of County Tipperary, 1850-1891, (Dublin: 1983), pp. 31-38.

simply unable to approach the sacraments on a regular basis because of the nature of their work or the location of their residence.³⁴

Despite these problems it would be wrong to characterise the laity as indifferent to their spiritual duties. Neither docile nor subservient, ordinary immigrants were capable of extraordinary creativity and personal initiative. They responded in various ways to the situation that confronted them and played a major role in shaping the Catholic churches, private devotions and institutions that developed in the province. Local historians have too easily obscured the fact during the 1860s, in particular, a predominantly Irish laity working in seasonal, unskilled occupations provided the resources necessary to construct a rudimentary Catholic institutional presence in the colony.³⁵ At the same time, members of local congregations generously donated what little spare time, money and labour they had to assist their priest practitioners in meeting spiritual objectives and providing essential services. When the efforts of local clergy fell short of immigrant expectations the laity articulated deep-seated local grievances against the Society of Mary and its administration of the region. By engaging in the debate over the future direction of colonial Catholicism and enthusiastically fashioning an ethnic stance toward the group's internal

³⁴ While parish priest at Darfield, Father James O'Donnell found it difficult to ascertain the number of persons who refrained from the sacraments and was astonished to discover that some Catholics considered it more convenient to attend to their duties when business took them on a Saturday to Christchurch where they stayed over until Monday. Diocesan Return for the Parish of Darfield, 13 August 1892, CDA.

³⁵ See, for example, Barry Samuel Allom, "Bishop Grimes...", *passim*; Brendan P. Daly, "The Founding of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Christchurch, 1840-1887", P.G. Dip. Theology, Christian Thought and History (2), CDA.

difficulties, parishioners belied the notion that they mindlessly accepted the counsel of their priests. As emigrants they had left Ireland for something it could not give, but as colonials they recognised in the strong affirmation of Catholic Irishness an invaluable mechanism with which to shape outcomes and interpret the group's problems and obligations.

The common concerns of ordinary parishioners were voiced with increasing confidence during the 1870s by an emerging, self-conscious ethnic leadership. For the most part, lay leaders emanated from petty-bourgeois occupations, while still sharing the social universe of the immigrant rank-and-file. They were invariably married men, with families, and all were prominent members of local Hibernian branches. In many cases, these men had risen from quite humble origins to secure marginal proprietorships within the local economy. Daniel McGuinness, John Barret and Daniel McNamara, for example, had begun colonial life as labourers before gaining sufficient resources to become hotel-keepers, while others, like Thomas O'Connell and William O'Shaughnessy, ran petty dealing enterprises. The efforts of these men were, in turn, supported by a small group of skilled workers, among whom a Belfast-born blacksmith, Patrick Pope, was especially prominent, and a handful of professionals, including Dr. Patrick Doyle, John Ormsby Jones and James Taafe. Although lay leaders came from a wide variety of regional backgrounds within Ireland, it is noteworthy that Galway-men, like the school-master, Edward O'Connor, and the farmer, Patrick Henley, were disproportionately represented within the Catholic Irish leadership. On appropriate occasions the sources of this nascent ethnic consciousness were sufficiently wide to embrace

sympathetic non-Irish Catholics such as the lawyer, Henry Hamilton Loughnan. But in the main the influence of these persons was quite limited because they lacked a substantial constituency among the laity. Irish leaders, on the other hand, were able to draw upon a vast reservoir of cultural materials to interpret the group's experience in the colony and were in a much better position to articulate lay grievances against the administration of the Canterbury mission than their wealthy English counterparts. They displayed an acute sensitivity to the ethnic needs of local parishioners, and cogently expressed prevailing discontent at a time when large numbers of Vogelite immigrants had swollen existing congregations.³⁶

Lay protest over alleged Marist incompetence was intensified by the demeanour of Bishop Patrick Moran of Dunedin, who became a trenchant critic of the Society of Mary.³⁷ Born in County Wicklow in 1823, the son of a tenant farmer, Moran was educated at St. Peter's College, Wexford, and Castleknock Seminary prior to undertaking higher studies for the priesthood at Maynooth in 1840.³⁸ After his ordination in 1847, he worked as a curate in Dublin until 1856 when he was consecrated as the Bishop of Eastern Province, South Africa, by Archbishop Paul Cullen of Dublin, an ecclesiastical position he

³⁶ Brosnahan, p. 3; New Zealand Tablet, 27 April 1877, 13 July 1877, 11 January 1878, 11 June 1886 and 13 August 1886; Press, 18 March 1874; The Will of Edward O'Connor, 7355/1911, NA-CH; Death Index, 546/1911; The Will of Patrick Henley, 9036/1916, NA-CH; Death Index, 509/1916.

³⁷ On Moran, see Hugh M. Laracy, "The Life and Context of Bishop Patrick Moran", M.A. Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1964.

³⁸ J.J. Grimes, Panegyric of Bishop Moran, CDA.

held for thirteen years.³⁹ Moran was appointed to the diocese of Dunedin in 1869 but did not arrive in Port Chalmers until 1871, having attended the First Vatican Council before leaving Europe.⁴⁰ His very presence in the colony served as an important focus for Irish Catholic sentiment, and he believed it was essential to rigorously defend the Irishness of local Catholics in order to maintain their Catholicity. Simultaneously, by preserving their Catholicity one ensured the survival of their Irishness and an equilibrium favourable to the faith was created.⁴¹

The polemical style that Bishop Moran introduced to the colony was deeply influenced by Old World historical analogies, traditions and emphases. A backdrop of centuries of economic and political domination by English Protestants, of failed uprisings, grinding poverty and religious suppression, had bestowed an image of historical misfortune that was etched indelibly into the collective memory of the island's Catholic masses. When linked with a passionate commitment to Roman Catholicism, this legacy was not an affliction but a strategic tool capable of being transformed to serve new purposes where the need arose. Moran skilfully manipulated powerful myths and symbols associated with Ireland's subjugation and reinterpreted perceived threats to the group as a continuation of the historic wrongs suffered at the hands of the

³⁹ Laracy, pp. 8-17.

⁴⁰ The Diary of Bishop Moran, DDA.

⁴¹ Akenson, Half The World From Home, p. 175.

hated English. This was particularly evident in relation to education.⁴² In his Lenten Pastoral of 1873, for example, the Bishop castigated the provincial education ordinances of Otago and Canterbury as "so many penal laws, and virtually a repeal pro tanto of the Emancipation Act. We cannot regard them in any other light than as a re-enactment of some of the provisions of the odious, impolitic, and cruel penal code."⁴³

The battle of faith and morality was to be fought in the classroom.⁴⁴ At stake, Moran believed, was not simply the principle of distributive justice, which required that those who were taxed for purposes should have their taxes spent on the schooling of their children. More importantly, education entailed an initiation into a holistic view of life that was, in turn, part of a wider preparation for death and therefore a proper function of the Church.⁴⁵ In developing these aspects of his religious ideology, Moran drew especially upon the *Syllabus of Errors*, published by Pope Pius IX in 1864, which specifically condemned the proposition that the entire administration of public schools belonged to the civil authority.⁴⁶ In the course of mobilizing Irish colonial Catholicity, however, he relied so heavily on a brooding sense of oppression and impending crisis that

⁴² Otago Daily Times, 30 April 1871; New Zealand Tablet, 27 July 1877, 10 August 1877, 18 January 1878 and 31 August 1883; Moran, Lenten Pastoral, 1879, DDA.

⁴³ Moran, Lenten Pastoral, 1873, DDA.

⁴⁴ Moran, Lenten Pastoral, 1872, DDA.

⁴⁵ On the education struggle, see Davis, ch. 4; Akenson, Half the World From Home, ch. 6; H.R. Jackson, Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand, 1860-1930, (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1987), ch. 4.

⁴⁶ Laracy, p. 107.

other, more subtle emphases were almost completely obscured. The tone of the Catholic weekly, *The New Zealand Tablet*, founded by Moran in 1873 to defend the faith and argue a case for government support of parochial schools, extended the influence of this brand of militant, Irish Catholicism and provided an important forum for debate over the direction of the Catholic Church in New Zealand.⁴⁷

Moran not only exploited the emotional anxieties of Irish Catholics for religious ends, but also heightened ill-feeling against the Society of Mary by denigrating the order's efforts in New Zealand.⁴⁸ Upon his arrival in Dunedin, Moran expressed outrage at what he found to be the sad, deplorable state of religion in his diocese, and concluded that the Marists had been incompetent in handling a transplanted Irish church.⁴⁹ This view was reinforced by his perception of the mission of Marist religious in Canterbury, which appeared to have been somewhat less than satisfactory. Until Moran himself became episcopal administrator of the Wellington diocese in the inter-regnum years 1872-1874 following the death of Bishop Viard, local Catholics had been served by French clergy rather than their own Irish priests. The joyous reception accorded the Irish bishop upon his visitation to the province in 1873, and his continued criticism of the Society of Mary, can only have acted as a catalyst in

⁴⁷ *New Zealand Tablet*, 3 May 1873.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 27 May 1887; Moran to O'Donnell, 19 December 1887, CDA; Redwood to Grimes, 14 December 1888, CDA.

⁴⁹ Moran, Pastoral, 3 March 1871, DDA.

provoking the hasty recruitment of priests from Marist endeavours in Ireland.⁵⁰

The arrival of Fathers Ginaty and McNamara to staff the district was intended to be a clear signal of change in policy, but it had been implemented too slowly to be entirely convincing.⁵¹

Moran's Catholicism of grievance and crisis vividly captured and reinforced the mood of dissatisfaction which pervaded church life in Christchurch during the 1870s. This disquiet was increasingly directed at Francis Redwood, who was consecrated as Bishop of Wellington in 1874. Although born in Staffordshire, Redwood had spent most of his childhood in the colony prior to leaving for Ireland in 1854, where he prepared for the priesthood. Despite returning to the colony with impressive academic credentials, the new bishop lacked experience outside monastic confines and had little practical knowledge of parish work. Moreover, he tended to deal with problems in a manner that did little to endear him to the laity or disgruntled members of his own order.⁵² More importantly, Redwood committed a serious error of judgement following his first visitation to Canterbury when he recommended to *Propaganda* that a diocese not be erected in the region.⁵³ This action dealt a cruel blow to the welfare and aspirations of the laity who

⁵⁰ *Lyttelton Times*, 5 February 1873; *Press*, 4 February 1873; The Diary of Bishop Moran, DDA.

⁵¹ Redwood to Ginaty, 1-3-1877, MAW. Between the years 1870-1903, 25 priests and two brothers were sent to New Zealand from Marist training centres at Dublin and Dundalk. See Vaney, pp. 66-67.

⁵² Redwood to Cummins, 14 January 1876, WAA.

⁵³ Redwood to Letterier, 29 May 1877, MAW.

could no longer silently suffer "absentee rule" from Wellington. Much to Redwood's chagrin, Christchurch parishioners responded to what they perceived as his failure to adequately perform his social function by imposing the sanction of reducing his income from dues.⁵⁴

In early 1877 a lay petition to Rome was circulated throughout Canterbury in which various allegations were made about the Marist administration of the region. Although Redwood dismissed the document as "a tissue of exaggerations and untruths" and instructed Father Ginaty to quash the "strange composition", he was nonetheless sufficiently in agreement with its general thrust to request that Propaganda appoint a bishop for Christchurch and erect a new diocese in the South Island.⁵⁵ In a letter to the Marist Superior, Father Letterier, he lamented the inability of the Society of Mary to supply a requisite number of priests for Canterbury and conceded that an Irish Bishop residing at Christchurch would contribute more than the occasional visits of the Bishop of Wellington.⁵⁶ This was a dramatic *volte-face*, but it came too late to achieve a positive outcome and was quickly eclipsed by Marist efforts to retain control of the city.

Lay leaders, meanwhile, expressed their frustration with existing arrangements through a variety of media. In particular, critics pointed to the lack of Catholic institutions in the city and its environs. By 1877, when Father Ginaty took direction of the station, only one church, a convent, two schools

⁵⁴ Redwood to Ginaty, 14 May 1877 and 26 May 1881, MAW.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 14 May 1877, MAW.

⁵⁶ Redwood to Letterier, 29 May 1877, MAW.

and a presbytery of a "rickety nature" existed to serve local requirements. There had been little encouragement given to individual religious practice through the formation of lay confraternities or sodalities, and auxiliary services such as benediction, processions or retreats had not been provided regularly. Formal devotional practices, the bulwark of church discipline in Ireland, were barely stimulated by the drab physical setting of worship in the Church of The Blessed Sacrament at Barbadoes Street, which was not furnished with such necessary accoutrements as shrines, stained glass windows or blessed altars. Ginaty acted with urgency to meet the crying needs of his flock, providing chapels of ease where mass was said once a fortnight on land purchased at Papanui, Addington and Halswell.⁵⁷ But there was a world of difference between the provision of makeshift amenities and the creation of parishes with resident priests. It was a distinction not lost on the laity, who felt compelled to complain of spiritual neglect, despite the acknowledged zeal of their clergy.⁵⁸

Such grievances were voiced by anonymous members of local Hibernian branches in a lively chain of correspondence to *The New Zealand Tablet* during the 1870s and 1880s. Typical of these impassioned jeremiads was a letter published by a regular Christchurch correspondent in 1886. Referring to a joint

⁵⁷ Patrick Francis Moran, History of the Catholic Church in Australasia, from authentic sources (Sydney: 1897) pp. 938-39; Redwood to Ginaty, 20 March 1878, 31 May 1878, 25 November 1878 and 12 September 1879, MAW. For a useful summary of Ginaty's contribution to the diocese see J.J. Grimes, The Late Very Reverend Dean Ginaty: Panegyric By His Lordship Bishop Grimes, (Dunedin: 1911).

⁵⁸ Address by the Christchurch Laity to Cardinal Moran, Papal Legate of the Australasian Colonies, and Lord Archbishop of Sydney, 1886, CDA.

pastoral of the Plenary Council at Sydney published earlier that year which had expressed a desire for the organisation of various Catholic sodalities throughout the parishes, "Breffnicus" charged that local priests had not seized the opportunity provided by the formation of the Australasian National League to found such associations in the city. It was dangerous, he suggested, to try to meet the spiritual needs of the Irish without willing priests, for without clerical guidance they were indolent, and without their "soggarth aroon" they would become "timid and fainthearted":

Take away the Irish portion of each congregation, and Church and priest will die out together. The one must fall to ruins, and the other starve. But strip an Irish Catholic of his nationality, stifle in his heart those congenial inspirations that are the breath of his daily existence, and you tumble down the bulwark that shelters his faith in a foreign and infidel land. With him to be thoroughly Irish is to be intensely Catholic. I hail, then, the motto, Catholicity, charity and Hibernianism.⁵⁹

The shortage of priests and the deficiency of Catholic institutions were prominent thematic motifs in contemporary discourse. A delegation of lay leaders dealt explicitly with both themes in an 1886 petition to Cardinal Moran, the Papal Legate of Australasia and Archbishop of Sydney. These men claimed they were deeply troubled by the degree of discontent existing throughout Canterbury and requested Moran's intervention on their behalf. The petitioners noted that the Plenary Council held in Sydney in 1885 had already

⁵⁹ New Zealand Tablet, 11 June 1886. Similar sentiments were forcefully expressed by "Rathkealensis" in the same issue: "But above all other men on earth, the Irishman is peculiar in this, that when he loses his love for Ireland, his faith, that faith for which his fathers died and suffered, soon follows after. The loss of nationality to the Irishman is but another name for his loss of faith".

recommended that a new diocese be created at Christchurch, but asked that a Bishop be appointed immediately to avert "serious consequences" that would attend any lengthened delay. They complained parishioners were continually called upon to contribute large sums of money for the promotion of Catholic interests in the region, citing Marist financial mismanagement and the order's reluctance in rendering periodical accounts as matters deserving immediate attention.⁶⁰ Furthermore clergy gave no encouragement to lay organisations such as religious confraternities or voluntary societies. Catholic Schools, they argued, were badly supported and in the case of boys "deplorably inefficient" when compared to the "good instruction...given in the State schools, at no cost to parents."⁶¹ Because they were not brought into regular contact with their clergy or kept under Catholic influences, the majority of boys gradually dropped away from attendance at the Churches on leaving school.⁶² While not wishing

⁶⁰ While some of the financial troubles facing the parish were possibly the result of too rapid expansion by the Society of Mary, there was little alternative other than to resort to borrowing large sums of money to ensure the maintenance of essential community services. The annual cost of providing Catholic schooling, for example, cost around £1,765 in 1886 and seat rent was insufficient to pay the salaries of teachers and nuns. When Le Menant des Chesnais was appointed to replace Ginaty as Mission Rector in October 1887, the latter had incurred a debt of £600 simply to keep the schools open. By the beginning of 1888 the Bank of New Zealand refused to allow Ginaty to withdraw any further funds on the parish account as the existing overdraft had already reached enormous proportions. The heavy burden of repayment, that had begun to cause much ill-feeling in the parish, would fall on the shoulders of Bishop Grimes. See Le Menant to Redwood, 24 October 1887 and 18 January 1888. CDA.

⁶¹ Address of the Christchurch Laity to Cardinal Moran, p.4.

⁶² This concern appears to have been shared by Le Menant des Chesnais, who confided to Archbishop Redwood, "Our boys and young men are not what they ought to be, because there is no one to take an interest in them after the school hours or days work, the fathers being otherwise already overworked."

to cast aspersions on the zeal of their clergy, the petitioners suggested "that such a population scattered over such an area with schools, convents, hospital, gaol, lunatic asylum, in addition, could not be properly served by twice the number of priests."⁶³

Similar sentiments were expressed by newly arrived Irish secular priests. In an address to Bishop Moran of Dunedin, a group of seculars expressed sadness at the predicament of Irish Catholics "cast on foreign lands without a shepherd of their own race."⁶⁴ Without strong Irish clerical leadership, they surmised, the laity would continue to grow "lukewarm in the practice of their faith, timorous and faint-hearted when the enemy assails them, unequal to the duplicity of those who plunder and deceive them."⁶⁵ These priests were invariably given charge of the least attractive parishes or seconded to serve as curates to the Marists at various locations.⁶⁶ They emanated from a similar social backgrounds to their flock and shared common models of respectability and attitudes toward politics and drink. Looking to Bishop Moran of Dunedin for support, the seculars sought to negate local problems by the introduction of a more independent, combative stance to New Zealand Catholicism, asserting the

Le Menant to Redwood, 24 October 1887, CDA.

⁶³ Address of the Christchurch Laity, pp. 4-5.

⁶⁴ Address of the Secular Clergy To Bishop Moran, c. 1886, CDA.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Kickham to Grimes, 25 November 1889, CDA: "I myself was told more than once by some of the Marist fathers that we secular priests were only auxiliaries to help the Marist Fathers to manage the diocese."

primacy of Hibernian interests in matters of church policy.⁶⁷ It was an agenda that was mutually reinforced by the sense of resentment that pervaded the parish of Christchurch.

In their dealings with the seculars, Marist clergy mistakenly gave the impression that they were "empire building". This was an opinion overwhelmingly shared by the former, who complained with some justification that they were being relegated to the more distant, poorer parishes of the diocese.⁶⁸ These priests had travelled to New Zealand with the expectation that they would enjoy a leading profile in Church life. The decline in status that colonial life entailed must have dealt a severe blow to their aspirations. Whereas religious orders of priests played only a secondary position to the secular clergy in the Irish Church by virtue of canon law, this situation had effectively been reversed in Wellington ever since the first seculars had arrived to assist in the diocese. The Marists viewed themselves initially as itinerant missionaries, prepared to answer spiritual needs wherever they might arise. But

⁶⁷ Address of the Secular Clergy, CDA: "On your arrival here you found them sinking in courage their patriotism blasted assaulted on every side. With the defiant attitude of the true Soggarth and the brilliant substantial learning for which the Irish Episcopacy has ever been famous you mounted the Pulpit and the Forum and by cheering exhorting and encouraging raised them once more to the level of their moral excellence--You taught them to fight for their countrys rights to glory in her triumphs and to sympathise with her suffering children. As a consequence they are now better Catholics better citizens, a credit to their nature and adopted country...And if in the past your Lordships fearless advocacy was providentially given them at a seasonable hour much more is there need of it now. Religious indifference is increasing, antipathy to Christianity daily growing more rampant. To sustain our nationality to foster our national aspirations is to nurture our faith and make us fearless in the profession thereof."

⁶⁸ Kickham to Grimes, 25 November 1889, CDA. Vaney, pp. 176-212; Allom, pp. 51-67.

it became increasingly clear that they were keen to develop their missions into parishes in which they would assume the role of parish priests. It was perhaps understandable that having spent so long working the missions, they felt they were entitled to reap the benefits of their labours. However, their treatment of secular clergy and the orchestrated campaign which successfully secured a Marist bishop for the newly erected diocese of Christchurch, did little to dampen existing tensions.

The roots of controversy over episcopal control of the province's flourishing entrepôt were deep-seated and represented part of a wider on-going, adamant struggle between rival Catholic traditions. In Australia, a succession of ultra-Irish bishops had been appointed through the influence of Paul Cullen, Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, and all were openly contemptuous of religious orders earlier in the field. Fired by grandiose visions of an Irish spiritual empire, these newcomers triumphantly seized control of the Australian Catholic Church from the English Benedictine pioneers and defined the religious scene in terms of Irish experience.⁶⁹ The resolution of this conflict in favour of secular priests and Irish episcopal authoritarianism had clear implications for New Zealand. Indeed, the appointment of the Irish bishops Patrick Moran and Thomas Croke to the sees of Dunedin and Auckland in 1869 and 1870 seemed to indicate that Rome intended to establish a distinctly Cullenite hierarchy in the colony. Unlike their Benedictine counterparts across the Tasman, however, the Society of Mary was not so easily superseded.

⁶⁹ Patrick O'Farrell, The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History, (Kensington: University of New South Wales Press), esp. chs. 2 and 4. See also O'Farrell, Vanished Kingdoms, ch. 4; Jackson, pp. 85-86.

There is little evidence to suggest that the Marists intended to retain control over whole dioceses in the colony prior to 1878. In a request for the priests that his own order was unable to supply, Redwood told Father Fortune, president of All Hallows College, "it is the wish of [the] Society to assume the status which religious orders have in most countries, viz. to give up the management of parishes, by degrees, to secular priests, and limit their efforts and zeal to establishments for education and other kindred objects."⁷⁰ This objective was re-expressed in correspondence to the Marist-Superior, Father Letterier, in 1877. Significantly, Redwood referred to an agreement between himself, Rome, and the Society of Mary, whereby the latter was to surrender certain parishes to the seculars while retaining certain districts or educational establishments for themselves. In this way, he believed, the Marists could enjoy "the advantages of religious life" without suffering the "inconveniences" of parish work.

By 1878, however, it was clear that the Society of Mary would not withdraw from Christchurch. Writing to Father Ginaty, Redwood described the Marists as the "chief interested party" in the new diocese and instructed the mission rector to maintain his silence on the matter.⁷¹ This cautious tone was replaced subsequently by strident affirmations of beneficent Marist dominion in Canterbury. Redwood vindicated an agreement to make over a parish in the

⁷⁰ Redwood to Fortune, 29 August 1875 and 11 January 1876, WAA. Redwood urged Father Fortune to dispel from the minds of prospective priests "the notion that this diocese is exclusively under the care of religious" and claimed that the latter would "gradually give up parochial work to seculars."

⁷¹ Redwood to Ginaty, 22 June 1878, MAW.

north of Christchurch to the Society of Mary as "a matter of justice" given that "the Marist fathers are the founders of the present parish or mission of Barbadoes Street and the originators of well nigh all the good done in the past and present throughout the Canterbury district."⁷² Such lofty views were not shared by Christchurch laity, who continued their campaign of resistance by refusing to contribute a single penny a Bishop's house collection in 1881.⁷³

To what extent Redwood's attitudes reflected a change in policy at the Vatican is unclear, but it does seem to suggest that the circumstances which had been conducive to an Irish takeover of the Australian church were becoming less favourable. The deaths of Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of Propaganda, and Archbishop Paul Cullen, in 1874 and 1878 respectively, greatly weakened Roman-Irish influence on episcopal appointments in English-speaking countries and diminished the possibility of an amicable solution to debate over the future direction of Christchurch. Cardinal Barnabo's successor, Alessandro Franchi, had little sympathy for the claims of Irish prelates and attempted to loosen their hold on the church in various regions throughout the world.⁷⁴ "Since Barnabo's death", Bishop Moran complained to his namesake, Cardinal Moran of Sydney, "Propaganda has studiously refrained from consulting me on New Zealand affairs...whilst it has heard all the Marists have

⁷² Redwood to Ginaty, 15 October 1881, MAW.

⁷³ Redwood to Ginaty, 26 May 1881, MAW.

⁷⁴ Rory Sweetman, "The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand", unpublished paper delivered at the Canada-New Zealand Comparative Seminar, 10 May 1985, University of Edinburgh, MAW.

to say about us all."⁷⁵ Moran interpreted the Vatican's growing dissatisfaction with Irish ecclesiastical lobbying as the result of intrigue on the part of prominent English Catholics in Rome, who were hostile to Ireland.⁷⁶ The rejection of his accusations about Marist incompetence, the appointment of an English Benedictine to the see of Auckland in 1883, and growing fears that the Society of Mary would procure both Christchurch and the Metropolitan seat of a separate New Zealand Province, prompted an embattled Moran and his secular supporters to reassert Hibernian claims to hegemony over the Catholic church hierarchy in the colony.

Moran's hopes for a secular monopoly of Irish prelates were boosted by the first Plenary Council of the bishops of Australasia which met in Sydney in 1885. Ostensibly called to regulate church policy and administration in the region, the Council closely examined the matter of the Archbishopric of New Zealand and the selection of a bishop for the new see of Christchurch. The Irish secular majority at the Synod requested that Rome grant Dunedin the status of Metropolitan see and recommended that Moran's former Vicar General and successor in Grahamstown, James Ricards, be translated from South Africa to Christchurch. Nonetheless, a minority of religious bishops in attendance managed to secure the nomination of John Joseph Grimes, master of novices at the Marist Missionary College in Devon, as *dignior* for the new diocese. Despite

⁷⁵ Moran (Dunedin) to Cardinal Moran, 26 May 1887, Moran Papers, Sydney Archdiocesan Archives, quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷⁶ New Zealand Tablet 22 July 1887.

this minor consolation, the dominant secular party had shaped an outcome which was unamenable to Marist interests in the region.⁷⁷

The Society of Mary responded to the case put forward by the Plenary Synod, by waging a confident, well-orchestrated campaign which stressed the suitability of the capital city for the archbishopric of New Zealand. In 1886, thirty-six Marist priests who had gathered in Wellington for their annual retreat addressed a petition to Cardinal Simeoni, the Prefect of Propaganda, in which they expressed alarm at the prospect of Moran's appointment as archbishop of New Zealand and the consecration of a secular priest to the new see of Christchurch. Dunedin, they argued, was not central and had fewer priests, people and church buildings than the capital city which was advantageously situated, as well as being an important commercial centre and the seat of parliament. Moreover, Bishop Moran was neither a wise nor appropriate choice for the position of archbishop as he lacked the eloquence, tact and moderation needed for such a responsibility. The Marist petitioners listed a series of grievances against Moran, including charges that he had made false allegations concerning Marist expropriation of diocesan property from Dunedin and erroneously claimed that the order had concentrated their efforts on the Maori missions at the expense of the colony's European inhabitants. In relation to Christchurch, the petitioners were equally candid. The *dignissimus* for the new see, Dr. Ricards of Grahamstown, was too old and lacked sufficient knowledge of New Zealand life to be suitable for the post. Should a secular priest be

⁷⁷ Vaney, pp. 181-84; Laracy, p. 135.

appointed to Christchurch then conflicts would inevitably occur with the Society of Mary to whom Rome had granted several parishes in perpetuity.⁷⁸

These criticisms were amplified and extended by Redwood in exhaustive reports to Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of Propaganda, throughout 1886.⁷⁹ That Rome had accepted the Marist interpretation of New Zealand affairs by the beginning of the year is clear in Redwood's confident tone in reassuring Father Ginaty that he need pay no attention "to what may be done re. [sic] the new bishop of Christchurch; the matter is before Rome and has been for months; an early solution is pending".⁸⁰ On May 10, 1887, a papal brief named John Joseph Grimes as first bishop of the newly erected diocese of Christchurch which was to be left in the care of the Society of Mary. By a papal edict, published three days later, New Zealand was constituted as an ecclesiastical province with Wellington designated the metropolitan see and Francis Redwood the new archbishop.

The appointment of Grimes and Redwood's subsequent demotion of a popular secular priest, Father James O'Donnell, for organising a secular petition to Rome merely intensified Irish antipathy to the Marist order in Canterbury.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Petition of 36 Marist priests to Cardinal Simeoni, 4 January 1886, MAW, quoted in Vaney, pp. 181-83.

⁷⁹ Redwood to Simeoni, 4 January and 26 July 1886, WAA.

⁸⁰ Redwood to Ginaty, 3 February 1887, MAW.

⁸¹ James Joseph O'Donnell, born in Glenroe, County Limerick, in 1855, was educated at Mt. Melleray and All Hallows and ordained by the Bishop of Cork on June 24 1880. He was demoted from the parish of Ahaura and sent to Christchurch by Archbishop Redwood for his part in organising the petition. *Le Menant* to Sauzeau, 3 November and 17 November 1887, CDA; *Le Menant* to Redwood, 22 December 1887, CDA; Redwood to Grimes 21 July and 27

Yet, these on-going controversies did not diminish the position of the parish church as the central social and spiritual focus of Irish Catholic life in the region. On the contrary, internal conflict greatly strengthened immigrant solidarity around a reified, homogeneous Irish Catholic identity and successfully overrode possible class antagonisms. The struggle between clergy and parishioners formed an integral part of parish life, just as it had in Ireland, and demonstrated the limits of clerical authority. Moreover, persistent criticism of the Society of Mary forced the order to adopt a position that one historian has described as "more Irish than the Irish themselves".⁸² The introduction of Irish-born Marists and teaching orders had been an important step in this direction. Most importantly, however, Marist clergy were increasingly inclined to appeal to the ethnic sensibilities of the laity in order to sustain some influence over their activities.⁸³ This, in turn, further deepened involvement in Irish ethnicity by encouraging greater intimacy with the Catholic church, as well as a greater degree of social isolation and structural separation.

"Ethnicization" did not unfold evenly among Catholic Irish immigrants, nor indeed was it a sudden eventuation. Instead, the process involved a gradual

October 1887, MAW.

⁸² Sweetman, p. 13.

⁸³ See, for example, the address to Bishop Grimes prepared by the French priest, Le Menant des Chesnais: "We are truly jubilant today to have you in our midst...The devotedness of the Irish race to their pastors is proverbial all over the world, and the numerous assembly which now fills the walls of this Cathedral is a manifest proof that, in these Canterbury Plains, the spirit of the great Patriarch of Ireland is still alive, and as strong as in the beautiful but most cruelly oppressed Isle of Erin." Le Menant, Address, 31 January 1888.

self-realisation of a shared ethnic heritage that was sharpened in the course of internal struggles for control of the parish church and in daily interaction with the host system. This growing perception of peoplehood was not without some undesirable features. It was, above all, introspective and frequently fostered attitudes of mistrust and antagonism toward "outsiders", even where they professed the same faith. The prevalence of dichotomous us-against-them thinking was only intensified in public life, where calls for compulsory secular education drove Irish Catholics together into defensive organisations. Immigrant leaders, meanwhile, depicted their rank-and-file clientele as an embattled minority and manipulated nationalist symbols in the practical defence of Catholic interests against real and imagined adversaries. Efforts to unite the immigrant community in this way, however, had the unintended consequence of moulding a mental ghetto which reinforced Orange kinds of Protestantism and erected barriers that proved difficult to dismantle.

Nonetheless, there was a more positive side to the flowering of ethnicity. When they arrived in Canterbury newcomers had little to offer other than their labour, but they brought with them an essential resource for group formation in the shape of their religion. Roman Catholicism was primarily a system of beliefs buttressed by an appeal to supernatural realities which supplied its adherents with a coherent world-view and morality. But it also provided the foundations of a stable institutional structure capable of supporting popular mobilization and thus represented a powerful means to effect a creative response to the situational exigencies of the present. Its efficacy was overlaid by Old World folk memories of exploitation, suffering and persecution under English colonial

administration, an image of historical misfortune that belied a long-established tradition of defensive unity in face of external threat. This shared ethno-religious heritage, along with the similarity of immigrant life-styles, a fundamental concern with familial security and the high degree of interpersonal association engendered by work relations and strong kinship ties, facilitated the development of group awareness in Christchurch. These informal ties proved a vital prerequisite for the militant brand of ethnic consciousness that arose during the 1870s and 1880s in the context of an internal dispute over the direction of Roman Catholicism in the colony. As a consequence, the immigrants gradually discarded narrow regional affiliations and began to perceive themselves in terms of a broad ethno-religious grouping that was intelligible, if more than a little worrying, to outsiders. And, from this perspective, the crystallization of ethnic awareness among Irish Catholics in the city was an example of what Yancey, Eriksen and Juliani have called "emergent ethnicity"--in the process of *becoming*.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Yancey et al., pp. 391-403.

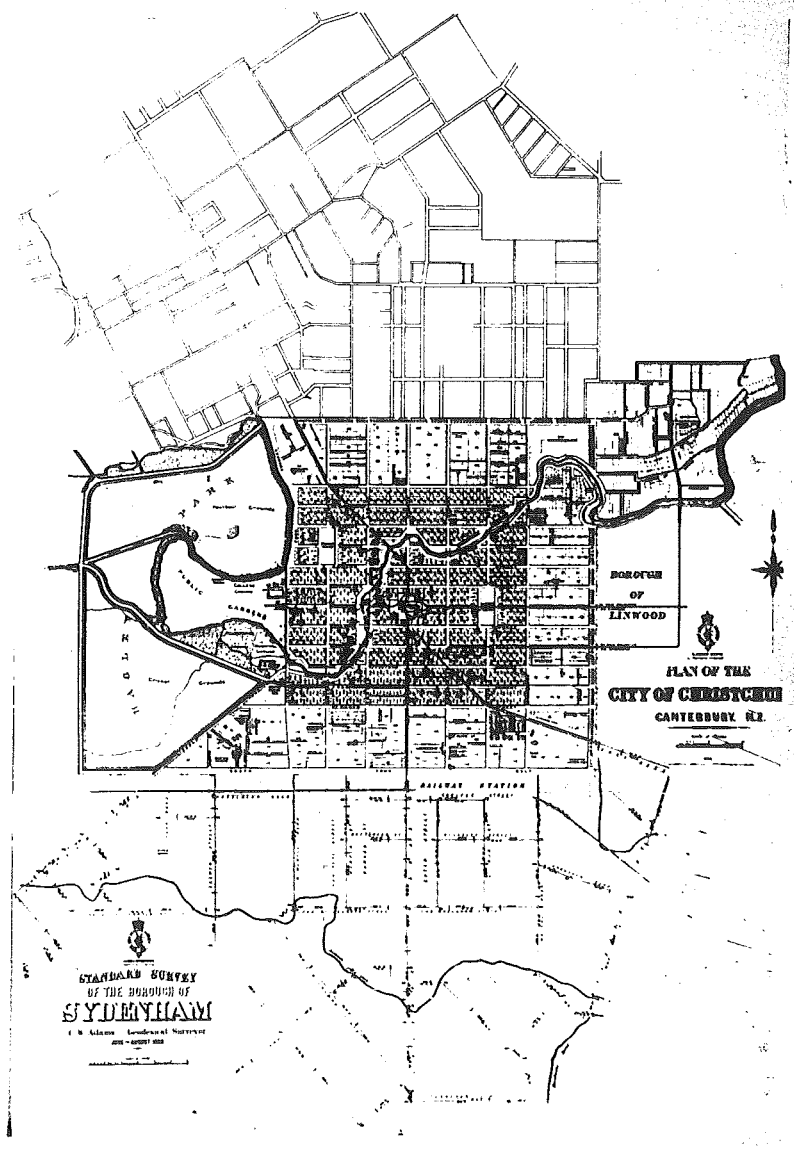


Plate 3 Plan of Christchurch and Survey of Sydenham, 1880 *Courtesy of Canterbury Museum*

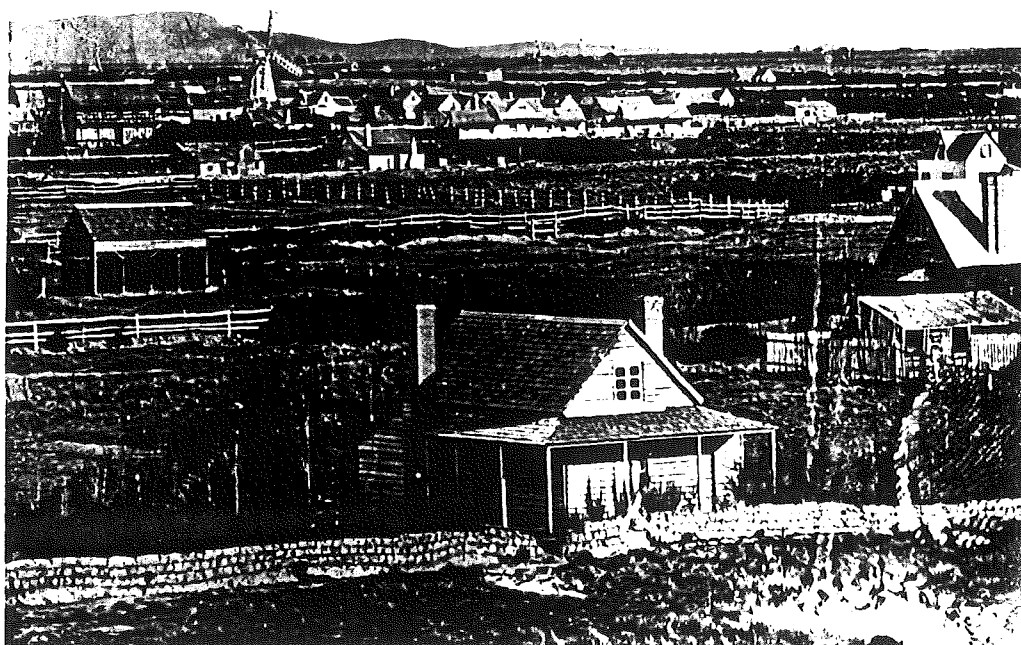


Plate 4 Christchurch South, 1860 *Barker Collection, Canterbury Museum*

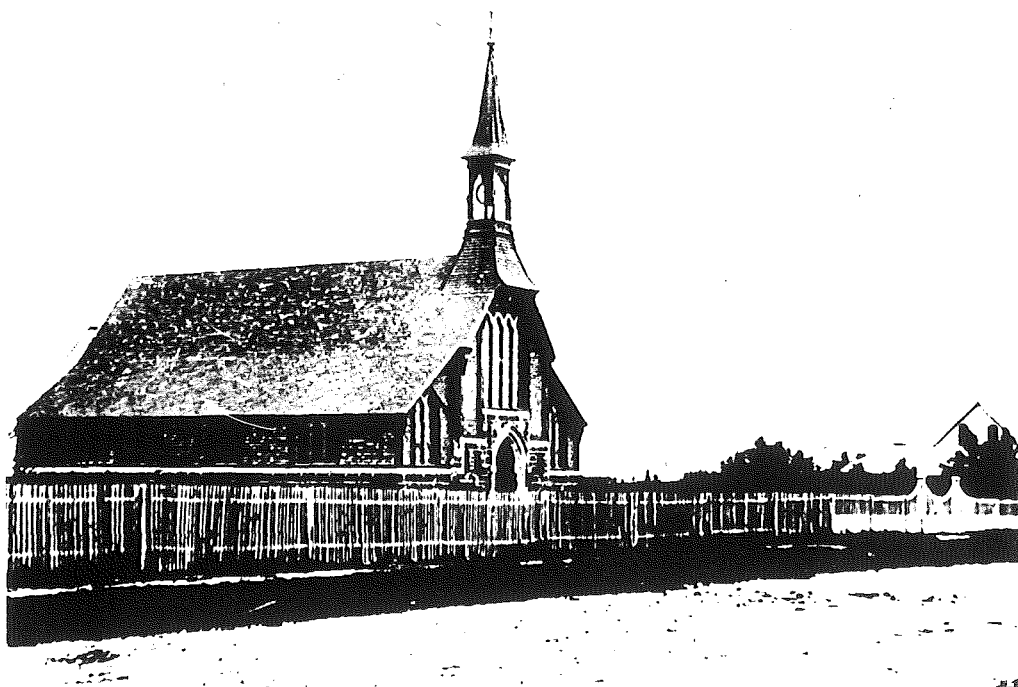


Plate 5 Church of the Blessed Sacrament, 1864 *Barker Collection,*
Canterbury Museum



Plate 6

Church of the Blessed Sacrament and Mission Sisters' Convent,
date unknown *Marist Archives, Wellington*

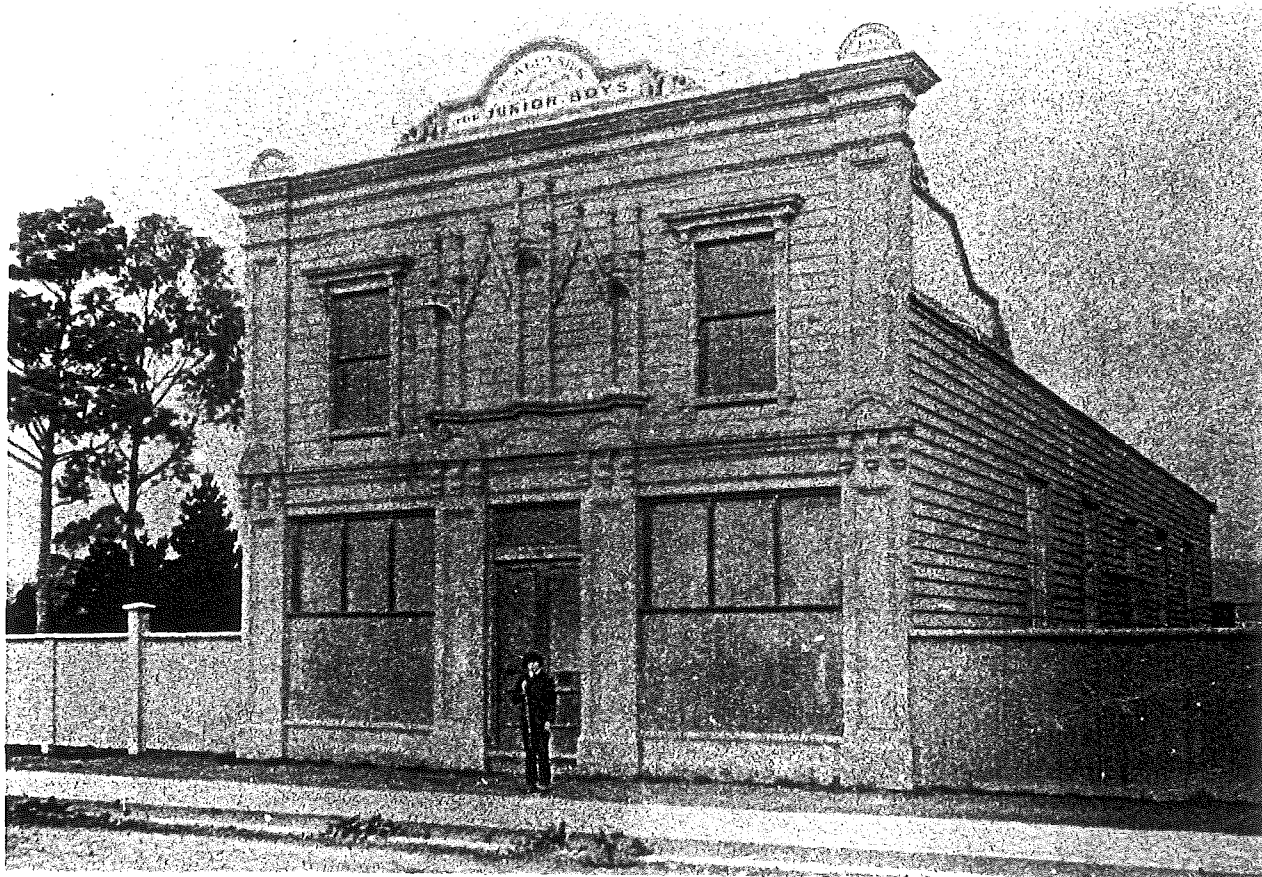


Plate 7 Junior Boys' School, Barbadoes Street, c. 1887 *Marist Archives, Wellington*

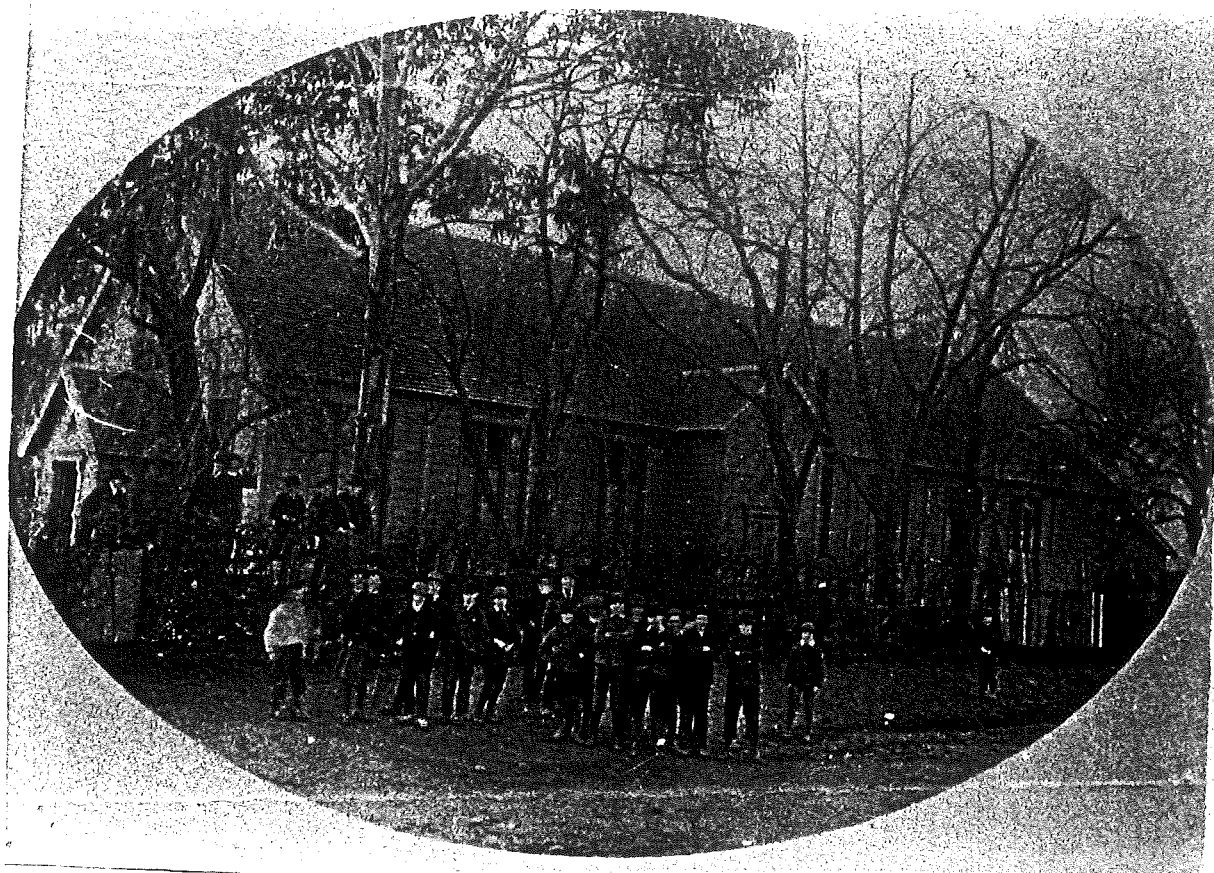


Plate 8 Parochial Boys' School, Barbadoes Street, c. 1887 *Marist Archives, Wellington*

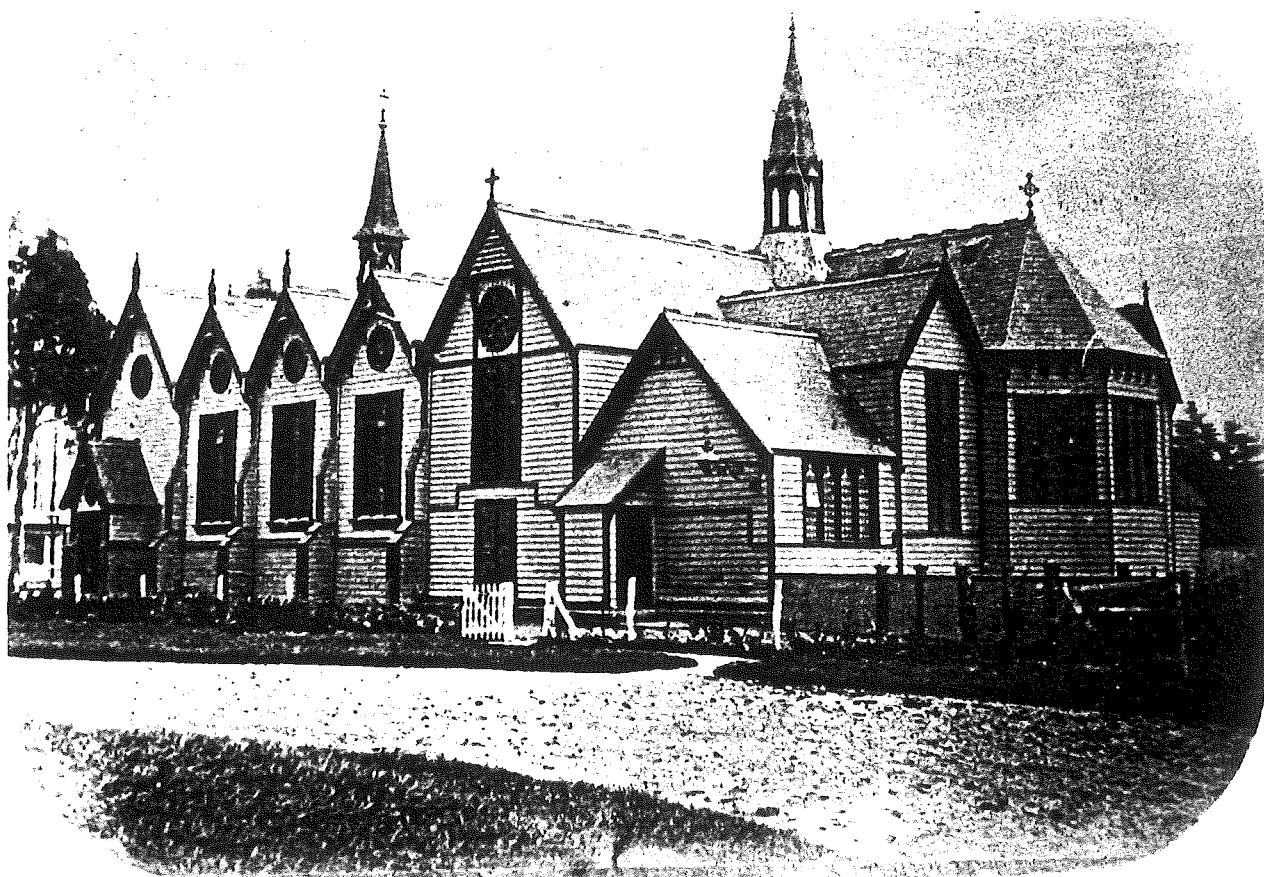


Plate 9 Church of the Blessed Sacrament, c. 1887 *Marist Archives,*
Wellington



Plate 10 The Haughey Family, early 1900s: (L to R) Back - James Haughey, Charles Haughey. Front - Annie Lafferty, Margaret Shaw, Charles Haughey, Snr., Mary Sullivan, Catherine Bradford *Courtesy of Pat Grace*



Plate 11 Rachel Goggin (Haughey-Pepper) *Courtesy of Pat Grace*

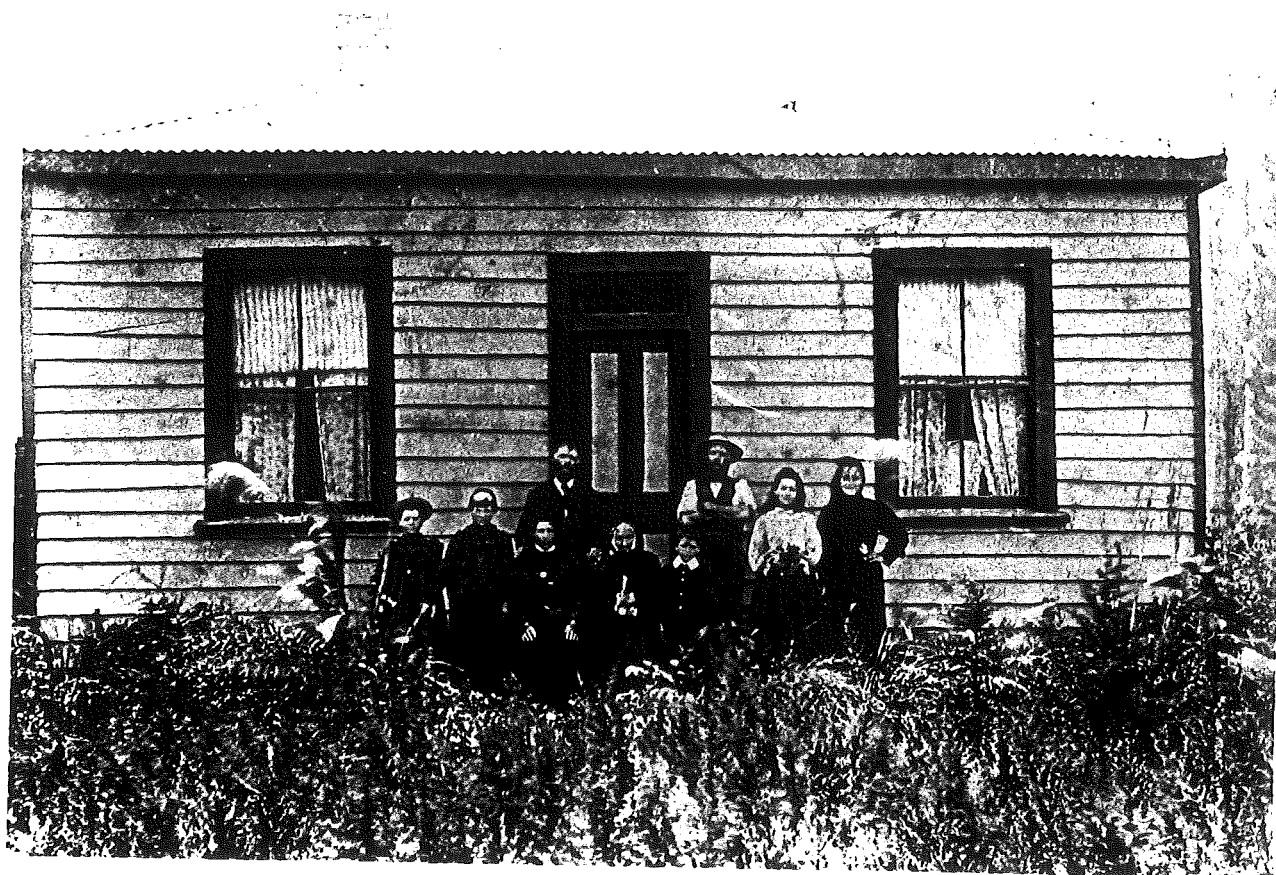


Plate 12 The O'Malley Family, c. 1890: The men standing at the rear are (L to R) Peter and Charles O'Malley. Their mother, Bridget (Lydon), is seated in the middle of the group with Peter's wife, Cecelia (Boyle), immediately to her left. *Courtesy of Rita McKinnon*



Plate 13 Norah Dowd (O'Malley) early 1900s *Courtesy of Rita McKinnon*

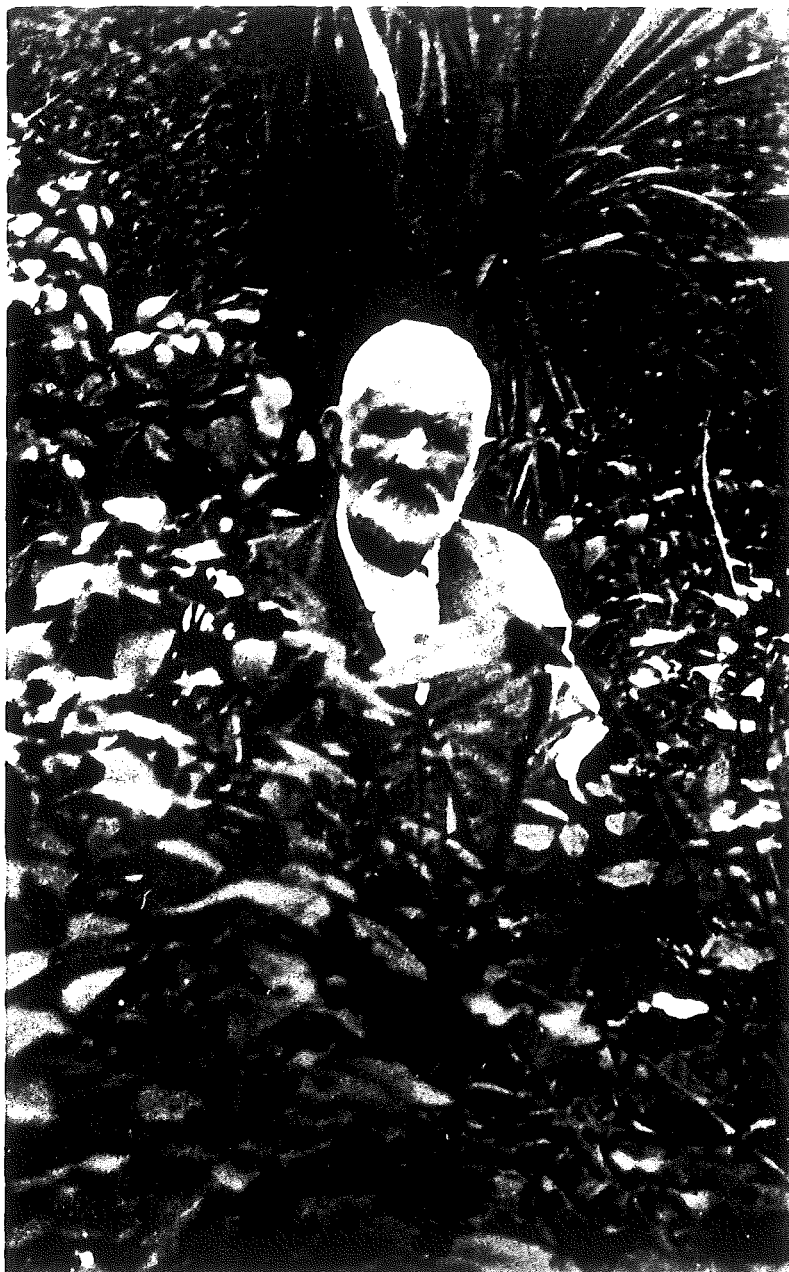


Plate 14 Patrick Dowd, date unknown *Courtesy of Rita McKinnon*



Plate 15 Mary Nolan (O'Malley), early 1900s *Courtesy of Rita McKinnon*



Plate 16 Father Laurence Mary Ginaty, SM *Marist Archives, Wellington*



Plate 17 Bishop Patrick Moran of Dunedin *Marist Archives, Wellington*



Plate 18 John Joseph Grimes, SM *Marist Archives, Wellington*

CHAPTER THREE

THE DIMENSIONS OF COMMUNITY

In a powerful thesis which draws upon the methodologies and insights of North American scholars such as Stephan Thernstrom and Michael Katz, Miles Fairburn argues that a high rate of transience undermined associative capacities during the colonial period by reducing the chances for individuals living or working in the same locality to become intimately acquainted and evolve patterns of reciprocity.¹ In his view, the habitual transience of manual workers proved destructive to those social ties dependent on a sense of class solidarity and stunted the capacity for organised working-class protest. Transience, he argues, weakened associative capacities because it constituted a conservative and individualistic strategy of self-improvement based on Arcadian notions of natural abundance which represented an alternative to collaboration or collective action.² In New Zealand a prevailing ethos of arcadianism, a skewed sex ratio, a spectrum of inherently itinerant employment and sharp but fluctuating

¹ See Michael Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada East, pp. 94-134; Stephan Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century City, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), pp. 84-90; "Reflections on the New Urban History", Daedalus 100 (1971): 359-75; The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 220-32. See also Stephan Thernstrom and Peter Knights, "Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculations about Urban Population Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America", Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 1 (1970): 7-35. Thernstrom and Knights emphasise the existence of a "floating urban proletariat" that was "so transient as to prevent the growth of feelings of collective solidarity", pp. 34-35.

² Fairburn, The Ideal Society, pp. 125-26.

differences in economic growth and prosperity from region to region conspired to produce a volatile colonial population which was highly unsettled.³

For Fairburn, the culture of a people in motion found expression in colonial architecture with its prominent clusters of boarding-houses and hotels that catered to the strong migratory dispositions of the lowest strata in colonial society. It prevented the emergence of regional variation in dress, speech and aspirations and ensured that cultural uniformity became superimposed upon the structural dissimilarities of each region.⁴ The mass movement of population, he claims, not only homogenised the lifestyles of the colonists, but mitigated against the development of community by introducing an element of instability into their society that made social bonding problematical and resulted in atomization.⁵

³ Ibid., pp. 134-41. A fifth destabilising factor that Fairburn identifies as catalytic in the turnover of colonial population was the unrealistic expectations of minor proprietors who found upward progress to the middling strata exceptionally difficult. These people were prone to "prolonged wandering" because they were frustrated with their existing achievements.

⁴ Compare Fairburn, pp. 133-134, with Michael B. Katz, Michael J. Doucet, and Mark J. Stern, The Social Organisation of Early Industrial Capitalism, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 130: "[H]igh rates of population turnover worked against the development of a local sense of community cohesion and integration. Its national effect might have been quite the opposite. The continual circulation of population throughout a continent created continuous human contact, a network of communication, a sense of identification with other places that decreased the strangeness of Boston in Buffalo, diminished the distance between New Hampshire and Wisconsin, and brought Toronto closer to Winnipeg. Whatever its local effects, the restless, driven movement of people may have helped to create two sprawling and improbable nations on one continent."

⁵ Note the similarities between Fairburn's emphasis on the "[conjugal] family's capacity to support, protect, and entertain its members" as a direct consequence of atomization, Ibid., pp. 190 and 199, and Katz et. al., p. 130: "Rootlessness bred a detachment from community that led people to turn

In this chapter I want to test and challenge the adequacy of Fairburn's explanatory construct model in a micro-level context. The analysis which follows is in three sections. In the first, I explore the nature and implications of transience in some detail using a sample of Catholic immigrants drawn from the Transcript of the Baptismal and Marriage Registers of the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament for the years 1877-1878.⁶ To permit a comparative approach to the data and to provide a wider understanding of the dynamics of residential mobility, a second sample comprising Irish Protestants was taken from the Christchurch Register of Births for 1878.⁷ I traced both groups through a combination of quantitative sources, including street directories, birth, death and marriage certificates, church registers and electoral rolls over a period of two decades. Secondly, I attempt to gauge the effects of transience on

inward toward the one unit that retained its shape: the family of husband, wife and children...the restless movement of nineteenth-century people contributed to the inward concentration, that intensification of domesticity, that became the hallmark of modern families."

⁶ The sample group extracted from this source numbered 206 families that could be defined as Irish Catholic on the basis that one partner was born in Ireland and it included a small contingent of ten couples that were English-born of Irish parents.

For an example of the use of Parish baptismal registers in the study of transience, see Jay P. Dolan, The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 37-44. Dolan linked church registers to city directories to assess and compare the pattern of geographical mobility for these two ethnic groups.

A skilful and penetrating analysis of population turnover utilising city directories can be found in John Bodnar, Immigration and Industrialisation: Ethnicity in an American Mill Town, 1870-1940, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977), pp. 51-60.

⁷ The sixty-nine families in this sample were attached to four Protestant denominations and emanated largely from urban areas in north-west Ulster.

Table 3.1 Percentage Of Original Samples Living At The Same Address In Selected Years, 1878-1898

<u>Group</u>	<u>Year</u>							<u>N</u>
	1881	1884	1887	1890	1893	1896	1898	
Irish Catholic	44.7	27.7	20.4	15.0	11.7	9.7	9.2	206
Irish Protestant	50.7	40.6	30.4	24.6	19.1	17.6	16.2	69

Sources: Wise's Street Directories, 1878-1899; Transcript of the Baptismal Registers of The Cathedral of The Blessed Sacrament, Lyttelton and Shand's Track, Canterbury Public Library; Christchurch Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages; Probate Files, CH 171, National Archives, Christchurch; Electoral Rolls--Christchurch District 1877-1898; A Return Of The Freeholders Of New Zealand, 1882, (Wellington: 1884).

single Catholics through an analysis of death certificates for the years 1876 to 1900. These records represent some of the few surviving references to persons who never married and yield valuable data for discussing and assessing the strength of social bonding among those of whom an itinerant lifestyle might be expected. Finally, I examine the inner structural connectedness of the Irish Catholic community using qualitative evidence. Fairburn's model, I argue, is overly deterministic and does not bear out a micro-level approach to actions which produce and reproduce social practices and social structure.

American historians exploring patterns of residential mobility in a variety of urban contexts have generally used the concept of persistence to denote the proportion of a population remaining in a specified area after a designated time period. Their studies would seem to indicate it was an experience less characteristic of nineteenth-century people than their propensity to move

Table 3.2 Number Of Moves Made By Those Persisting To 1898

Group	N	0	1	2	3	4 or more
Irish Catholic	89	21.3	19.1	14.6	23.6	21.3
Irish Protestant	37	29.7	18.9	24.3	13.5	13.5

Notes

1. Sources: All data obtained from the same sources as Table 3.1.
2. Accurate figures for five Catholic families, or 5.3% of those persisting to 1898 (N = 94), could not be satisfactorily attained and were not included in the final analysis.

frequently.⁸ Indeed, the results of my own quantitative measurement of population turnover confirmed that Christchurch's immigrants were also extensively mobile. Between the years 1878 and 1898, a mere 9.3% of sampled Irish Catholic households and 16.2% of their Protestant counterparts resided at the same address in the city (Table 3.1). A far more common pattern involved frequent residential mobility and limited stays in any single dwelling. This held even for households that were persistent in Christchurch after twenty years and attested to the prevalence of intra-urban migration among both groups (Table 3.2). It was rare indeed to trace families that chose to live in one place, as did those of James and Catherine McGrath at Bingsland, for example, and Patrick and Kate Donnelly at St. Asaph Street.⁹

⁸ See, for example, Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West, pp. 94-134.

⁹ Birth Index 1227/1877, 1586/1881 and 1424/1884; Tr.Bapt.Reg. CBS 1351a./1884; Death Index 736/1879, 429/1887 and 438/1918.

Patrick Donnelly, born in County Tyrone, married Catherine Canavan from County Monaghan in Christchurch on 2 May 1876. Catherine continued to reside at their freehold property at 40 St. Asaph Street after the death of her husband in late 1888. The Will of Patrick Donnelly, 1668/1888, NA-CH; Death Index, 117/1881, 431/1885, 378/1886, 436/1886 and 593/1888; Birth Index,

Table 3.3 The Dimensions of Persistence, 1878-1898

Group	N	Number persistent to 1887	Percent persistent	Number persistent to 1898	Percent persistent
Irish Catholic	206	120	58.3	94	45.8
Irish Protestant	69	44	63.8	37	54.4

Sources: All data obtained from the same sources as Table 3.1.

Table 3.3 shows the persistence rates for Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant households in Christchurch during the twenty year period, 1878-98. Of the original Irish Catholic contingent 58.3 percent could be located in the city after an interval of ten years, a total which had declined to 45.8 twenty years later. By contrast, Irish Protestants demonstrated a slightly stronger preference for continuous residency, with 63.8 percent remaining until 1887, and 54.4 a decade later. These figures seem surprisingly high, but they are confirmed by Table 3.4 which reveals how they understate the volume of movement out of Christchurch. Altogether nearly two-thirds (63.5 percent) of sampled Irish Catholic households emigrated from the city at least once compared to only half (49.5 percent) of their Protestant counterparts, a momentum that was partially offset by a significant degree of return migration for both groups. The anomalies between Tables 3.3 and 3.4 illustrate the extent to which this was a key variable operating in relation to the rate of persistence. Of the original sample of Irish Catholics, 7.3 percent of those persisting in 1887 had spent periods of time outside the city compared to 5.8 of the Protestants, while the

1715/1878, 1603/1881, 1125/1883, 999/1885 and 391/1888.

Table 3.4 Percentage Of Original Samples Emigrating From Christchurch During Selected Year Intervals, 1878-1898

<u>Group</u>	<u>Year Interval</u>							<u>Total</u>
	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-18	19-21	
Irish Catholic	23.3	13.6	8.7	9.2	3.4	3.4	1.9	63.5
Irish Protestant	18.8	10.4	5.8	8.7	2.9	0.0	2.9	49.5

Sources: All data obtained from the same sources as Table 3.1.

corresponding figures for 1898 were 4.4 and 8.8 percent respectively.

These temporary absences were occasionally the result of employment in inherently itinerant occupations. The family of constable Patrick McGill, for example, shifted to Wellington following the birth of their daughter, Frances, but had relocated back in Christchurch by 1890 when McGill was stationed at Woolston.¹⁰ Similarly the family of Patrick Marra, a Tipperary-born engine-driver, spent brief periods in Oxford and Methven prior to shifting to Barbadoes Street in 1886 where he began a coal-business.¹¹

While work imperatives often influenced decisions to migrate elsewhere, the death of a spouse sometimes necessitated that a widowed family return to the city. Such was the case for Hannah Buckley, whose husband James had died in Rangiora in 1881.¹² Pregnant with the couple's seventh child, Hannah was fortunate in being able to move back to the freehold Avonville property

¹⁰ Birth Index, 1442/1878; Wise's Street Directory, 1881 and 1890.

¹¹ Birth Index, 177/1878, 1282/1881 and 478/1886; Wise's Street Directory, 1881; Tr.Bapt.reg CBS 2103a./1886.

¹² The Will of James Taafe, 541/1881, NA-CH; TR, 86/1881, NA-CH.

where she had spent the early years of her marriage.¹³ At this location she provided for the immediate welfare of her young family for a number of years, before opening a boarding house in Barbadoes Street in 1887.¹⁴ Catherine O'Malley, on the other hand, spent over fifteen years in Rakaia and Dromore before moving back among her kinfolk in Christchurch following the death of her husband in 1895.¹⁵ Like the Taafes, the O'Malleys strategically retained freehold property in the city as an insurance policy in the event of death or infirmity, and it was there that Catherine lived out the rest of her days.¹⁶

A striking feature of the mobility data was the consistently higher rate of persistence for Irish Protestants in Christchurch. Rather than an outcome of any independent cultural factors, this configuration is most likely explained by property ownership. Of the original samples 43.5 percent of Irish Protestants were non-freeholders, giving this group a slight but distinct advantage over the Irish Catholic group whose landless component was higher (53.4 percent). Although the relationship between transience and land-owning is obviously not a simple one, it has been identified by historians as playing an important role in tempering migratory dispositions for it usually represented some kind of

¹³ Birth Index, 13623/1873, 650/1875 and 125/1877. Tragically her daughter, Edith Ellen, with whom she was pregnant at the time of James' death, died aged three weeks on 5 January 1882. Death Index, 66/1882.

¹⁴ Wise's Street Directory, 1887.

¹⁵ Descendant information, Rita McKinnon; Birth Index, 763/1878; Wise's Street Directory, 1884 and 1893.

¹⁶ Catherine O'Malley died at 83 Barbadoes Street on 2 September 1912, aged 76. Death Index, 634/1912.

Table 3.5 Persistence Rate For Households By Land-Ownng Categories

Group	Freeholders according to assessed value of their land in 1882 (in pounds sterling).			
	Non-freeholder	1-499	500-999	1000 and over
Irish Catholic				
1887	47.3	72.6	85.7	55.6
1898	35.5	58.9	71.4	33.3
	(N=110)	(N=73)	(N=14)	(N=9)
Irish Protestant				
1887	43.3	84.6	85.7	50.0
1898	33.3	76.9	66.6	66.6
	(N=30)	(N=26)	(N=7)	(N=6)

(N = number of persisters and transients combined)

Notes

1. Table 3.5 is modelled on Miles Fairburn, The Ideal Society and Its Enemies: The Foundations Of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850-1900, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989), Table 5.2, p. 131.
2. Sources: All data obtained from the same sources as Table 3.1.

commitment to remain in one locality.¹⁷

Table 3.5 presents the persistence rates for four categories of household assessed according to the value of land owned in 1882. What the figures confirm for both groups is that it was the non-landowning strata that were most prone to itinerancy. Of those sampled households categorised as landless, 47.3 percent of the Catholics and 39.0 percent of the Protestants remained in the city until 1887, while both groups had diminished further to 43.3 and 33.3 respectively by 1898. In comparison, 79.5 percent of the Protestant land-owners and 72.9 percent of Catholic land-owners were traced in 1887, a rate of persistence that declined to 73.7 and 58.3 respectively ten years later.

¹⁷ Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress, p. 118; Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West, pp. 131-32; Fairburn, The Ideal Society, pp. 130-31.

Table 3.6 Persistence For Households By Mean Age Of Married Couple

<u>Mean Age and Group.</u>	<u>N</u>	1887	1898
21-25			
Catholic	37	62.2	43.2
Protestant	19	57.9	42.1
26-30			
Catholic	61	57.4	49.2
Protestant	21	61.9	61.9
31-35			
Catholic	54	57.4	49.2
Protestant	12	66.6	63.6
36-40			
Catholic	31	61.3	45.2
Protestant	11	81.8	72.7

Sources: All data obtained from the same sources as Table 3.1.

In contrast, the variables of age and occupation provided less conclusive evidence for estimating the probability that a given household might remain in Christchurch (Tables 3.6 and 3.7). Age, it seems, had little independent effect except among older Protestants, and the minor differences within the Catholic figures are most likely random deviations from what could be analogous rates. Similarly, occupation was not a strong indicator of persistence, and it is interesting to note that semi- and unskilled Irish Protestants displayed a strong preference for staying in the city. Nevertheless, the large number of households in the low white collar classification (category two) that left town does lend limited weight to Fairburn's contention that it was the small proprietors who exhibited the greatest migratory proclivities on account of their unrealistic expectation that it was eventually possible to enter the middling strata. It is clear, however, from this analysis that all segments of the sampled groups were

Table 3.7 Persistence For Households By Occupational Classification Of Males

<u>Classification</u>	<u>N</u>	1887	1898
High white-collar			
Catholic	6	66.6	0.0
Protestant	5	50.0	50.0
Low white-collar			
Catholic	21	54.2	37.5
Protestant	13	35.7	23.1
Skilled			
Catholic	37	70.3	51.1
Protestant	19	68.1	61.1
Semi-skilled and Unskilled			
Catholic	142	53.5	45.1
Protestant	32	75.0	65.6

Notes

1. Sources: All data obtained from the same sources as Table 3.1.
2. Occupational titles used in this scheme were classified as follows:

Rank One (Professionals): Architect, Banker, Bank Manager, Barrister, Boot-Manufacturer, Doctor of Medicine, Merchant, Surgeon

Rank Two (Low White-Collar/Petty Proprietors): Accountant, Advertising Agent, Bailiff, Boarding-house Keeper, Bookseller, Cabowner, Clerk, Commercial Traveller, Commission Agent, Contractor, Dairyman, Dealer, Farmer, Grocer, Hotelkeeper, Police Inspector, Stationmaster, Sexton, Storekeeper

Rank Three (Skilled): Blacksmith, Bricklayer, Bootmaker, Carpenter, Coach-builder, Compositor, Constable, Cooper, Engine-driver, Engineer, Ganger, Hatter, Machinist, Mason, Plasterer, Platelayer, Sawyer, Tanner, Wheelwright

Rank Four (Semi-skilled and unskilled): Barman, Carrier, Carter, Gardener, Groom, Hawker, Labourer, Mariner, Miner, Nightwatchman, Stoker, Storeman, Waiter, Yardman

on the move regardless of age or condition.¹⁸

While the movement of familial households through time can be recounted with some confidence, little is known about the migration patterns of single adults who left few traces in extant records. One possible source for assessing the implications of transience among this group is evidence adduced from death certificates. After 1875 officiating doctors or coroners were expected to fill in standardised forms on which the biographical details of deceased persons were entered. In order to complete a death certificate, information on fourteen items was required, including the name, occupation, birthplace, length of residence in the colony, father's name and occupation, and mother's first and maiden names of the deceased. However, officials were not always able to ascertain these facts. Indeed, Miles Fairburn has argued that the high number of incomplete forms for 378 adult bachelors, all with manual occupations, who died in Wellington in selected years between 1876 and 1890, suggests the figure of the "man alone" was prominent in the context of death. Had those attending the inquest been friends or "mates" who were sufficiently aware of the background of the deceased, then the doctor or coroner would have had little difficulty in obtaining this information. The dead, he concludes, must have been "sufficiently anonymous, alone in the world, for no one to be aware of key aspects of their biographies".¹⁹

¹⁸ Fairburn, The Ideal Society, pp. 139-41.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-44.

An analysis of death certificates for all single Catholic males who died in the Christchurch district between the years 1876 and 1900 would seem to confirm Fairburn's hypothesis. Of a total of 221 documents viewed from this period 65 percent did not specify the father's name and occupation, or the mother's maiden and christian names. In a further 54 percent of cases the birthplace of the deceased was left blank, while 57 percent did not include length of residence in the colony. Altogether, the certificating officer left 66 percent of the certificates incomplete, compared to a lower figure of 49 percent for those single Catholic females who died during the same period. Taken at face value, a plausible interpretation of this data might be that it attests to the extreme individualism of single Catholic adults, many of whom died anonymously among strangers. However, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that such a conclusion would be misleading.

Record linkages of incomplete certificates with probate files raise serious doubts about the validity of Fairburn's assumptions in relation to these documents. The death certificate of John Ryan, for example, lists his birthplace and length of residence but does not include the details of his parents and would thus count as incomplete according to the Fairburn schema. Yet Ryan's will shows clearly that he was hardly an atomised individual. An Inventory and Realisation account attached to his probate reveals that he paid seat rent--indicating that he must have been a regular church-goer--and subscribed to the *New Zealand Tablet*. Underlining his practical Catholicism was his decision to bequeath legacies of £10 each to Father Ginaty and the Reverend Mother at the Barbadoes Street Convent, as well as £5 to Father Halbwachs. In his day to

day dealings, it appears that Ryan was in constant contact with a number of other Irish Catholics, including the labourers John Mullins and Philip Ryan, whom he owed money for wages. He held separate liquor accounts with two prominent Irish Catholic hoteliers, John Barret and John McNamara, and had further accounts with both of the men who would act as the executors of his will--a Marshland milkman, Michael Daly, for provisions, and a Courtenay farmer, Edward Guiney, for carting potatoes. Ryan obviously knew both men well enough to have been confident that they would discharge their duties in regard to his estate diligently.²⁰

When Thomas McGrath succumbed to liver cancer at Christchurch Hospital in late 1891, the officiating coroner was unable to provide details of his birthplace, length of residence, or parents' names. Nonetheless, the will of this Galway-born ploughman stipulated that £150 was to be paid to his sister Mary McGrath of Carrowtown, while the residue of his estate was to remitted to his brother, James, of the same locality. To carry out his intentions McGrath appointed as his executors a fellow ploughman, Patrick Connor, and a station manager, William Allen, both of whom had worked with him at Acton Station prior to his illness.²¹

²⁰ The Will of John Ryan, 1632/1888, NA-CH; Death Index, 435/1888. Ryan instructed his executors to invest the proceeds from the sale of his estate and pay the interest therefrom to his brother, Patrick Ryan, of Summerhill, County Tipperary, for life "then to his eldest son absolutely". However, if no son survived him, then the residuary interest was to revert to his brother Denis, of Wamambool, Victoria.

²¹ The Will of Thomas McGrath, 2194/1891, NA-CH; Death Index, 666/1891.

At the death of James Hally of County Tipperary in 1879 there was no one to supply any information about his parents. Yet five years later Dr. Patrick Doyle, who had known Hally, applied to the Supreme Court in Christchurch for a grant of Letters of Administration to his estate on behalf of Mary Duggan, one of the sisters of Duggan, who was then resident in Boherniska, County Waterford.²²

In other cases single Irish Catholics turned to the familiar figure of the parish priest to administer their worldly affairs. A labourer, Daniel Spelicy, whose death certificate bears few details other than his occupation, repeatedly informed Father Ginaty of his intention to give him all the property of which he should die possessed and insisted on several occasions that the priest prepare his will. Ginaty initially refused to do so but must have eventually weakened for his signature appears on the document in which he is named as sole executor and beneficiary.²³ Similarly, Johanna Kuryk, a single domestic servant, bequeathed all her property to Father Ginaty "in the general purposes of the Parish of Christchurch".²⁴ In none of these cases could the testators be described as floating social atoms for all seem to have had crucial attachments along kinship and ethnic lines in the colony and in Ireland.

The notational system employed by certificating officers in eliciting biographical details of deceased persons, then, is not in, and of itself, sufficient

²² James Hally, intestate, 898/1884, NA-CH; Death Index, 203/1879.

²³ The Will of Daniel Spelicy, 366/1880, NA-CH; Death Index, 285/1879.

²⁴ The Will of Johanna Kuryk, 29 April 1879, Ginaty Papers, MAW; Death Index, 346/1879.

evidence for declaring that more inclusive social groupings did not exist in the community. This type of testimony may exist in plentitude in other sources, such as wills or parish registers where record linkages are useful in tracing the activities of putatively atomised individuals. Quite simply, the removal from an analyst's view of certain types of evidence that would be useful in placing individuals within socially connected groups does not preclude the possibility that there was a substantial core of settled persons bound up in continuous relations with one another. In this respect, Fairburn's failure to attempt linkages with other sources is particularly disquieting and illustrates the danger inherent in arguing from absence in historical inquiry.

A similar point can be made in relation to the high population turnover of familial units in Christchurch. Viewing the extent of mobility among Irish Catholic households in the city, it would be relatively easy to conclude that the highly volatile nature of colonial society mitigated against the development of meaningful community life. On the contrary, the data presented above reveals that a solid core of stable residents persisted in Christchurch throughout the duration covered by the analysis, notwithstanding the flow of transients. Indeed, by electing to stay in the city persisting households provided sufficient continuity and spirit for the maintenance of a flourishing sense of community. In turn, the existence of rudimentary community structures and essential services supported by settled residents provided the means to assist and cater for large numbers of transients. Moreover, transiency itself was neither an entirely fortuitous action nor an essentially individualistic and conservative mechanism of self-improvement. Just as their decision to emigrate had

occurred within the context of local or familial networks, so too did Irish Catholics remain closely tied to family responsibilities and homeland priorities in their adopted land. Rather than pursuing their own self-interest, the immigrants relied heavily on strong kinship bonds and ethnic ties after their arrival and did not eschew these vital links during subsequent movements.

To dismiss the relevance of community life in nineteenth-century New Zealand, as Fairburn has done, is simply to overlook the importance of place and kinship in what was undoubtedly a fluid society. We need to explore the ways in which immigrants structured their social world and recognise the underlying stability and subtle bonding processes being generated despite mass mobility. Given that kinship attachments survived the voyage out intact, it would be somewhat peculiar to discover that they suddenly disintegrated in New Zealand. It might even be asked whether in fact it makes sense to view transience and persistence in mutually exclusive terms when they may be more functionally complementary than it would otherwise seem. The existence of a core population facilitated the emergence of formal ethnic organizations and ensured that communal ways were not permanently abandoned by transients. And, its importance was continually demonstrated by those who regularly returned to the city to seek support or when compelled to do so by necessity.

A key failure of Fairburn's one-sided explanation is that it cannot adequately account for the variety of multi-dimensional social and cultural settings in which communicative action takes place. This is particularly so with regard to space. In Christchurch, Irish Catholics had a clearly visible focus for

community activity and solidarity based on the parish church situated at Barbadoes Street, which had been built in 1864 and dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament. A veritable constellation of services and organisations revolved around this nucleus that catered specifically to an ethnic clientele and nourished social networks and community cohesiveness. Many of these were specialised institutions, such as parochial schools and convents, which constituted a conspicuous reminder to those living nearby that this was a distinctively Catholic section of town.

The identification of ethnicity with space was further augmented by the location of Catholic businesses in the area which gave visible emphasis to the growing community. Edward O'Connor's Catholic Book Depot, for example, established in 1880, not only offered customers a range of religious books and objects of devotion such as rosaries, but also pictures of St. Patrick, Parnell, O'Connell, Emmet and Lord Edward Fitzgerald for two shillings each.²⁵ On the opposite side of Barbadoes Street Catherine Keenan's Enniskillen Boarding-house offered lodgings of a type most suitable for Catholic itinerants at reasonable rates.²⁶ Nearby, Patrick Marra opened his ill-fated coal-yard while the bootmakers James Heslip, Joseph Gray and Jeremiah Dineen also located their workshops in the area.²⁷ A strong Catholic presence in this section of the city was further supplemented by propinquent businesses of non-Irish entrepreneurs such as the Steinmetz brothers, John Docherty, and Alfred

²⁵ New Zealand Tablet, 25 June 1886 and 8 May 1896.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 19 June 1886.

²⁷ Wise's Street Directory, 1887.

Joseph White; the latter's family lived in the three-story brick building which also served as a furniture factory on the corner of Tuam and High Streets.²⁸

In addition to the disproportionate number of Catholic businesses located close to the parish church, many Catholic families chose to cluster around the area in a way that distinctively shaped the neighbourhood's character.²⁹

If the rhythm of Irish Catholic community life revolved around the activities of the parish church, then one of its most important functions was the provision of parochial schooling for children. Education was considered an appropriate undertaking but one that required a muting of its more secular, transformative aspects to accommodate the desire of immigrant families and priests to retain control over the socialisation of the young. There was little room for compromise in what was perceived as a struggle to ensure that Catholic religious values and cultural traditions were transmitted to succeeding generations.

Agitation for the establishment of adequate Catholic schooling in the city began relatively early and was rewarded on May 22, 1865, when the first Catholic school in Canterbury was opened in a cottage at Lichfield Street.³⁰

²⁸ Ibid. The Steinmetz brothers--John, Peter and Daniel--were German-born, and ran a bootmaking business in High Street, while the Scot, John Docherty, worked as a piano-tuner.

A.J. White was born in Taunton, Somerset, in 1838, and arrived in New Zealand aboard the Zealandia on 8 December 1863. See G.R. McDonald Dictionary of Canterbury Biographies, file 390; The Will of Alfred Joseph White 2920/1895, NA-CH; Death Index, 332/1895.

²⁹ See below, Chapter 4.

³⁰ New Zealand Tablet, 22 May 1875: "Had you visited it on Monday morning, May 3rd, 1865, between the hours of 9 and 11, you would see a bashful, delicate, clean-faced youth, whose nationality you could not mistake,

By October of that year a new schoolhouse at Barbadoes Street was completed and ready to accommodate an attendance that had increased steadily from two to seventy pupils within a few months.³¹ The need for teaching nuns to staff a day and boarding school for girls was met with the arrival of three Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions on 8 February 1868, and their responsibilities included a Ladies' Select School which began in 1871 and ran on the same premises as the parish primary school.³² To meet the demands of the increasing flow of immigrants into the city, a second Catholic school-room was opened on the corner of the South Town Belt and Barbadoes Street in 1872 at a cost of £800.³³ Additional schools for those children living some distance from the east side were established by Father Ginaty at Addington and Papanui, where the congregation took part in a procession of the Blessed Sacrament around the church grounds singing appropriate hymns after Mass had been said.³⁴

The provision of secondary schooling proved a more difficult undertaking

catechising two little urchins, his only pupils during the remainder of the week." The "youth" to whom the correspondent referred was the Galway-born schoolmaster, Edward O'Connor. Conditions at first were rather primitive, and in order to pay the weekly house rent of fourteen shillings and support himself, O'Connor was forced to open a night school. Some relief was provided when the Provincial Government agreed to contribute toward his salary after he had passed an examination by Inspector Restell.

³¹ F. Redwood, Sketch of the Work of the Catholic Church for the last half-century in the Archdiocese of Wellington, New Zealand, (Wellington: 1887), p. 51, MAW.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 52; O'Meeghan, p. 129.

³³ Lyttelton Times, 2 October 1872. The school-room was opened on 1 October 1872 with a tea and entertainment attended by 600 persons under the auspices of the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

³⁴ Manuscript in the handwriting of Father Regnault, c. 1894, MAW.

and elicited a lukewarm response from laity. Although many of the non-Irish clergy seemed mystified by this lack of enthusiasm, Irish immigrants were determined to ensure the survival of their families and were reliant on the contribution of progeny to the household economy. They were understandably unwilling to abandon the supplementary income brought in by the paid employment of adolescent sons and daughters in menial occupations for a few years of additional learning. From this perspective it is easier to comprehend the failure of St. Leo's Academy for boys, which began in 1880 and closed in 1885, and the vast lapse of time before the establishment of St. Bede's in 1911.³⁵ Nonetheless, the decision to launch Sacred Heart High School for boarders and day girls in a wing of the new Mission Sisters convent on 30 January 1882 suggests that some parents were more receptive to the idea of educating their girls.³⁶

The construction and support of parochial schools, in addition to the costs of churches and convents, demanded a great deal of pecuniary sacrifice from the immigrants who were already heavily burdened by the reality of daily expenses. That a congregation composed largely of unskilled labourers and

³⁵ This attitude to secondary education was also found among Catholics in the early twentieth-century. See Transcript of the Reminiscences of Father Knight, SM, (August, 1967), pp. 91-92, MAW.

On St. Leo's see J.J. Wilson, The Church in New Zealand: Memoirs of the Early Days, (Dunedin: 1910), p. 85. As pew rents were insufficient to support the school, these were supplemented by quarterly collections at the church door. Lyttelton Times, 5 November 1884.

³⁶ Lyttelton Times, 7 June and 12 June, 1882; Le Menant to Redwood, 24 October 1887, CDA; Le Menant to Grimes, 1 March 1890, MAW. The new convent cost £9000 and its high school catered for 41 day girls and 20 boarders in 1887.

their families had managed to sustain the burden of church property already valued at £20,000 in 1878 and to maintain a system of private schools is clear testimony of the strength of ethno-religious bonds in the city.³⁷ By 1887, when Father Le Menant des Chesnais arrived to take charge of the parish prior to the arrival of Bishop Grimes, the total annual cost of supporting local schools was £1,765, a sum that proved difficult to collect during the depression years.³⁸ As Le Menant later confided to Grimes, it was impossible to "draw blood out of a stone". The laity, he argued, could not realistically be expected to shoulder a greater amount of the colossal debt facing the diocese at this time as "they have done all they can and are unable to do more."³⁹

Despite the privations of the period, however, the schools remained open and were financed by various means. At the Pro-Cathedral in Barbadoes Street teachers were secured for the boy's school through seat rents that were supplemented, by church offertories and school fees, while the girl's school relied principally on school fees for the same purpose.⁴⁰ Similarly, seat rent formed the basis of payment for teachers at St. Mary's, Manchester Street, and St. Joseph's, Papanui, with additional funds being generated by private offerings and entertainments.⁴¹ At both Halswell and Addington a committee

³⁷ Redwood to Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, 9 April 1878, MAW.

³⁸ Le Menant to Redwood, October 24 1887, CDA.

³⁹ Le Menant to Grimes, 1 March 1890, MAW.

⁴⁰ Diocesan Return for the Pro-Cathedral, Christchurch, June 30 1892, CDA.

⁴¹ Diocesan Return for the Parish of St. Mary's, June 27 1892 and July 28 1895, CDA.

of parishioners was organised to take charge of raising the necessary money for maintaining local schools, a task that would have undoubtedly required a great deal of work.⁴² Although the available data does not permit reliable estimates of the number of children attending these schools, the clergy seemed generally satisfied with the provision and quality of Catholic primary education in the city but held reservations about the failure to establish a secondary school for boys. For the laity, hard times can only have added weight to their complaint that the Education Act of 1877 had forced them to subsidise the "godless" education of others through taxation while they received no direct benefit for themselves or their children.

An important site of the shared religious, cultural and social activities that structured much of Catholic communal life in Christchurch was undoubtedly the school-room. Used for multifarious purposes, this building played a central role in the development of community organisation. It was here, for example, that local Catholics met after Mass in 1871 to petition against the secular emphasis of the Provincial Government's proposed Education Ordinance of 1871.⁴³ The school-room was large enough to accommodate well-attended functions, conveniently located and particularly valuable for community fund-raising efforts. These invariably took the form of musical evenings, such as that held in 1873 by the St. Patrick's Dramatic Society in aid of the enlargement of the parish church.⁴⁴ In addition, the building provided neutral territory where laity

⁴² Diocesan Return of the Pro-Cathedral, Christchurch, June 30 1892, CDA.

⁴³ Press, 24 July 1871.

⁴⁴ Lyttelton Times, 3 July 1873.

could meet with one another or farewell priests who were leaving the parish. When Father Chareyre resigned his position as parish priest of Christchurch in 1877, the most prominent members of the congregation gathered to present him with a purse of sovereigns as well as an address, an honour that was usually only reserved for Irish priests.⁴⁵ While the school-room proved useful for large meetings of this nature, its primary function outside school hours appears to have been as a regular point of contact for the various sodalities and confraternities of the parish.

A consideration of the role of confraternities and sodalities in the parish life of Christchurch suggests that Catholic spirituality exhibited greater vitality than the atomization model would allow. Perhaps the most striking feature of these associations was the extent to which they were a product of lay initiative notwithstanding the requirement of ecclesiastical approval and the need for clerical guidance. Such was the case with the Hibernians, a branch of which was formed on the West Coast in 1869, predating the amalgamation of the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society in Melbourne in 1871. The establishment of a Christchurch branch in 1872 heralded the arrival of an organisation that would adopt a leading profile in local Catholic affairs. Hibernians purported to "cherish the memory of Ireland", while simultaneously promoting the interests of Catholicism and members appeared publicly in regalia

⁴⁵ New Zealand Tablet, 27 April 1877. The address was signed by Isaac B. Sheath, Nolan, C. Walsh, Patrick Pope, Daniel McGuinness, R.A. Loughnan, Robert Houlihan, James Fuss, James Taafe, George Mather, Patrick McSwiggan, John O'Neil and Patrick Garrigan.

that was emblematic of their Irish connections.⁴⁶ The order's supposed *raison d'être* was to act as an immigrant mutual-aid society, a purpose that was sometimes only secondary to its nationalist proclivities.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, upon joining the Hibernians a new member was entitled to free medical attendance and medicine both for himself and his family, if he were married, a privilege which was extended to the widowed mother and siblings under eighteen years of age of single men. When a member became ill or sustained injury compensation of one pound was paid to him weekly for up to twenty-six consecutive weeks, a level of assistance that fell thereafter to fifteen shillings for the next thirteen weeks and ten shillings for a final period equal to that preceding it. On the death of his wife, a Hibernian stood to receive ten pounds, and on his own death his relatives were to be granted the sum of twenty pounds.⁴⁸

Many local Catholics must have found these additional benefits an attractive proposition that nicely complemented the Society's brand of Irishness

⁴⁶ Ibid., 27 April 1877: "As set forth in the introduction to the Rules, one of the objects of the Society is for the members to cherish the memory of Ireland, rejoicing in the prosperity and condoling in the sufferings of their native land, and to bind them yet closer in social chains of fraternity and friendship in this distant land. Also, to endeavour to instil into the minds of the Celtic-New Zealand race a veneration for the land of their forefathers, in order that they may imitate, if not excel, the faith and virtues of that devoted nation; and to extend the hand of fellowship to their co-religionists of every nationality, participating with them in a brotherly spirit every benefit, social and pecuniary, the Society affords."

⁴⁷ The motto of the Hibernian Society was "Faith, Hope and Charity" and its regalia included the cross (symbolising redemption), the Harp of Erin, the Shamrock, the Sunburst, the Round Tower, the Oak Tree and the Wolf-Dog.

⁴⁸ New Zealand Tablet, 27 April 1877.

Table 3.8 Quarterly Membership Figures For The Hibernian Branches At Christchurch and Dunedin, 1877

	<u>Christchurch</u>		<u>Dunedin</u>	
	<u>X</u>	<u>Y</u>	<u>X</u>	<u>Y</u>
1st Quarter	82	11	59	22
2nd	71	19	58	23
3rd	78	11	56	26
4th	65	4	60	30

Notes

1. Source: Data derived from New Zealand Tablet, 1 February 1878.
2. Categories: X = financial members; Y = unfinancial members.
3. The Christchurch figures do not include honorary members.

for the branch enjoyed a healthy membership throughout the nineteenth century. A comparison of membership figures for the Dunedin branch, which was under the patronage of Bishop Moran, with those for Christchurch is instructive (Table 3.8). It is clear that although the latter had a higher proportion of financial members, some of its number were reliant on harvesting work in the fields around Canterbury during the "busy season" and attendance at convivial functions declined precipitately at this time of the year.⁴⁹

Perceiving a need to develop nationalist sentiment among Irish Catholic youth of the parish and to contain them within the community, a hall was erected in Barbadoes Street in 1889.⁵⁰

In addition to the Hibernians there were a number of other lay associations that were prominent in local parish life. In nineteenth-century Ireland it had been customary to establish several such groupings in each parish and one of these was usually a branch of the Confraternity of the Christian

⁴⁹ Ibid., 11 January 1878.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 13 August 1886 and 29 March 1889.

Doctrine. In Christchurch this society took the form of a Catholic Christian Doctrine Association organised by a lay committee, whose chief function was, as its name suggests, to teach Christian Doctrine to the children of the city. Those who joined this pious confraternity would have been expected to have lived a sober, pious life for some years previously, to have made a general confession and to have gone to communion once a month for an entire year. The role of the Christian Doctrine Association overlapped somewhat with that of a local Conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, a charitable-aid body whose members might be called upon to assist the parish priest in instructing the ignorant and teaching catechism, while further duties included preparing children for their first communion and visiting the sick.

A number of sodalities, such as the Apostleship of Prayer, the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Living Rosary, were belatedly inaugurated in the 1880s to foster a series of devotional exercises familiar to most of the Irish laity. An association of the Children of Mary was similarly formed at this time.⁵¹ Weekly meetings of the Canterbury Catholic Literary Society, which had begun in the late 1870s as the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, featured prayers, recitations, mock-trials and lively debates.⁵² Like most of the parish associations, however, it presupposed a reasonable level of literacy.

⁵¹ J.J. Grimes, Pastoral Letter, 1888, CDA; Report of the Very Reverend Stephen Cummings SM, Diocesan Administrator during the Absence of His Lordship, Rt. Reverend Dr. Grimes, Bishop of Christchurch (ad limina apostolorum), c. 1891, CDA; Diocesan Return For The Pro-Cathedral, Christchurch, June 30 1892, CDA; Diocesan Return For The Parish Of St. Mary's, June 27 1892, CDA.

⁵² New Zealand Tablet, 22 June, 6 July and 17 September 1886.

This effectively limited membership among the majority of the Irish laity and ensured that affiliates emanated from the more "respectable" echelons of local Catholicism.

While the existence of these rudimentary institutional structures was an important adjunct in the development of a sense of community among Irish Catholics in Christchurch, the cement which inextricably immigrants together and made them distinctive was their religion. Within Catholicism itself, as a system of values, beliefs and behaviour based on an appeal to supernatural realities, the fundamental and most sacred act of worship was the Mass. Although the seasonal labour market mitigated against a high-level of attendance, the fact that the Marist clergy occasionally expressed satisfaction with the degree of religious fervour in the city suggests that most Catholics were prepared to do their necessary duty and receive communion once or twice a year.⁵³

Reliable figures for weekly attendance are difficult to ascertain but a rare glimpse at church life in the late 1880s is offered through the testimony of Father Le Menant des Chesnais in a letter to Archbishop Redwood in 1887. On a typical Sunday at the Church of the Blessed Sacrament, Le Menant noted, three Masses were preached in the morning, the first at seven o'clock, followed by another at nine-thirty and another solemn ritual at eleven. In addition to these morning Masses, catechism was taught at three o'clock in the afternoon and early evening services at six-thirty featured Vespers and Benediction.

⁵³ Redwood to Ginaty, 15 October 1881, MAW; Le Menant to Grimes, 1 March 1890, MAW.

During week-days one Mass took place in church for the benefit of the convents and a further Mass was said for school children each Thursday morning at nine-thirty. Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was offered on Wednesdays at seven o'clock, and Baptisms were dispensed every Sunday and Wednesday at two o'clock. The clergy adopted a weekly roster system and a priest on duty was required to attend sick calls and preside at evening devotions throughout that period.⁵⁴ During Lent, a traditional time of fasting and preparation for the sacraments of penance and communion at Easter, special devotions and conditions were usually prescribed and strenuous exertions were made to nourish the piety of the people.

Le Menant's Sunday attendance figures of around two-thousand persons for Barbadoes Street, with another four hundred attending churches at Papanui, Addington and Halswell, would appear to indicate that church-going among Christchurch Catholics averaged between forty-five and sixty percent.⁵⁵ It would be tempting to conclude from this that a considerable number of the laity were relatively indifferent in matters of religion and must have lived fairly much on the fringe of parish life. Certainly, the attachment of a financial obligation to the Mass in the form of seat rents and various collections might have been enough to dissuade the careless or the very poor from regular participation. But this is hardly an adequate explanation. It is more likely that the continuing lack

⁵⁴ Le Menant to Redwood, 24 October 1887, CDA.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, CDA. The given attendance figures were: 2,000 at the Church of the Blessed Sacrament, Barbadoes Street; 125 at St. Joseph's, Papanui; 160 at the Church of the Sacred Heart, Addington; and 120 at the Church of St. Agnes, Halswell.

of church personnel and the failure of *Propaganda* to appreciate the pressing need for Irish priests in Canterbury conspired to blight a potentially rich harvest.

The extraordinary receptiveness of the laity to missions demonstrates that they made good evangelical material. During the 1877 mission of Father Henebery, an Irish-American priest of the Order of the Precious Blood, for example, crowds became so large that children under twelve had to be prevented from attending Mass in order to accommodate a congregation that swelled inside the altar rails of the sanctuary, around the Bishop's throne and right up to the altar steps.⁵⁶ At the conclusion of two weeks of daily Masses, Rosary and instruction some 3,000 persons had been induced to take a pledge of Temperance, and most of these took part in a procession through the city wearing green sashes on which were emblazoned their temperance medals.⁵⁷ Clearly, sustained efforts to stimulate the shared ethno-religious heritage of the immigrants in this way could be remarkably successful, leaving a lasting legacy on which to build a more cohesive community.

A close examination of the state of Catholicism in nineteenth-century

⁵⁶ New Zealand Tablet, 16 and 23 November, and 7 December 1877. The Mission began each morning with a Mass at five o'clock, followed by a second Mass at nine-thirty and Rosary in the evenings at seven with instruction. On the first Saturday of the Mission, Henebery gave instruction to the married women and widows of the parish and exhorted those who wanted "good Husbands" to send them along for a session early on Monday morning. Single women over twelve received their instruction on Tuesday morning, while their single male counterparts did so on Wednesday. Confessions were heard in Gaelic, French, German, Spanish, and Italian as well as English.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 7 and 21 December 1877; F. Redwood, Reminiscences of Early Days in New Zealand, (Wellington: 1922), pp. 20-22, MAW.

Christchurch does not suggest a triumph of bondlessness. Transience may have been a widespread experience, but it was not an entirely directionless phenomenon. A settled core of residents provided the critical mass necessary to facilitate stable patterns of interaction and to sustain an emerging network of formal parish organizations. This, in turn, affected social relations beyond the immediate realm of participants by extending communal support on the basis of ethno-religious identity to a transient clientele. It ensured that immigrant spiritual life was not bereft of richness or vitality and provided a fruitful basis for mobilizing collective action. As a result, newcomers never relinquished crucial household ties or fused ethnic/kinship attachments as they dealt with everyday realities. Neither did they reject their land of origin, nor the faith transplanted with them. Irish Catholics generously contributed funds to local community initiatives such as church-building and schools, while still managing to find more to send remittances home and support various Irish nationalist causes. During the course of these activities they forged a collective identity that was centred in community. The way in which this came to be expressed spatially, through a process of residential bonding, is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOCIAL TOPOGRAPHY OF SETTLEMENT

American historians and social scientists working in the field of immigration and urban studies have repeatedly emphasised the role of immigrant neighbourhoods in stimulating and maintaining ethnic bonds.¹ By contrast, the structuring of urban space has seldom received the attention it deserves in New Zealand historiography. This reluctance, however, is quite unwarranted. If we are to better understand the network of interdependencies that developed among conscious human agents acting within colonial society, then we need to explain the social topography of settlement. Spatial locales, after all, are highly structured human products imbued with a multiplicity of symbolic meanings. They constitute specific settings of social interaction where everyday activities are co-ordinated, sustained and reproduced.² And, as such, locales represent

¹ Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Immigrants, Immigrant Neighbourhoods, and Ethnic Identity: Historical Issues", Journal of American History 66 (1979): 603-15; Zunz, The Changing Face of Inequality, pp. 41-47, 81-88. See also, Sam Bass Warner, Jr. and Colin B. Burke, "Cultural Change and the Ghetto", Journal of Contemporary History 4 (1969): 173-87; Howard P. Chudacoff, "A New Look at Residential Neighbourhoods: Residential Dispersion and the Concept of Visibility in a Medium-Sized City", Journal of American History 60 (1973): 76-93; Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians, pp. 39-41, 164-65; David Ward, Poverty, Ethnicity and the American City, 1840-1925: Changing Conceptions of the Slum and the Ghetto, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

² The spatiotemporal structure of the social environment, in my view, does not exist as a separate reality that is external to action. Instead, at least some of its properties are the products of human agency. See, especially, Harré, "Architectonic Man...", pp. 141 and passim; Giddens, The Constitution of Society, p. xxv.

one historically embedded medium through which social structure and identity engender each other.

How did Irish Catholics organise themselves spatially in nineteenth-century Christchurch? Did they cluster residentially around parishes or in particular suburbs, and what influence did any such concentration exert upon organised community life? In this chapter, I will argue that newcomers managed to create a special kind of environment for themselves within the city through a process I have termed *residential bonding*. The formation of spatial proximity, like in-group endogamy and familial collectivism, constituted an important additional element in Irish adaptation to colonial life. It facilitated mutual solidarity and intensified social interaction among members of the emerging ethnic grouping. Perhaps the most decisive evidence for this claim is that newcomers tended to cluster strongly around the Church of the Blessed Sacrament, an institution which had become the critical locus of Irish Catholic identity. Immigrants developed channels of communication through its formal activities and organizations, thereby providing a powerful means to effect purposive action governed by specific beliefs and values.

In the first section of this analysis, I will show how borough-level statistics from the *Census of New Zealand* fail to disclose any indication of Irish Catholic clustering in the city. Second, I attempt to resolve this apparent evidential dilemma by moving to block-level data, which offers greater possibilities for the detailed investigation of spatial topography. In what follows, I argue that this approach makes intelligible a distinct pattern of residential

Table 4.1 Percentage Distribution Of Foreign-Born Population Across All Boroughs By Birthplace, 1886

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Boroughs</u>			<u>Total</u>
	1	2	3	
Ireland	52.9	32.5	14.6	100
England	52.1	30.1	17.8	100
Scotland	54.4	34.9	10.7	100
Australia	64.9	20.2	14.9	100
Germany	71.4	20.0	8.6	100

Notes

1. Source: Percentages derived from Census of New Zealand, 1886, Table 7, p. 148.

2. Numerical Categories: 1= Christchurch; 2= Sydenham; 3= St. Albans

bonding that would otherwise have remained hidden within the larger areal unit.

The so-called *index of dissimilarity* is a device commonly used in historical analysis to give a standardised indication of residential segregation.³ When the index is applied to borough-level census data for Christchurch to measure the

³ Ranging from a minimum index of 0 for the absence of segregation, to a theoretical maximum of 100 for complete segregation, the Index reveals the percentage of any one group that would have to move across the areal units being studied in order to match its distribution to that of the group to which it is being compared. It is important to remember that the summary indicators of the Index of Dissimilarity, like those of other segregation measures, are abstractions useful for comparative analysis and do not measure "real segregation". Although there is little theoretical guidance as to ways in which Index numbers can be considered "high" or "low", an index score below 25 is generally accepted as a cutoff point under which little segregation is present.

For discussion of the index of dissimilarity, see Otis D. Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes", American Sociological Review 20 (1955): 210-27; Stanley Lieberson, Ethnic Patterns in American Cities, (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1963), pp. 30-39. A succinct summary can be found in Nathan Kantrowitz, "The Index Of Dissimilarity: A Measurement of Residential Segregation for Historical Analysis", Historical Methods Newsletter 7 (1974): 285-89.

Table 4.2 Percentage Distribution Of Foreign-Born Population Across All Boroughs By Birthplace, 1896

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Boroughs</u>					<u>Total</u>
	1	2	3	4	5	
Ireland	44.2	26.2	11.5	14.3	3.8	100
England	41.7	23.4	14.4	14.7	5.7	100
Scotland	43.2	30.1	10.4	12.3	4.1	100
Australia	47.4	18.7	15.9	12.5	5.4	100
Germany	52.8	19.2	12.8	8.8	6.4	100

Notes

1. Source: Percentages derived from Census of New Zealand, 1896, Table 9, pp. 144-45.
2. Numerical categories: 1= Christchurch; 2= Sydenham; 3= St. Albans; 4= Linwood; 5= Woolston.
3. Errors in addition were the result of rounding percentages to the nearest decimal point.

segregation of each major nationality group from the remainder of the population, the low scores returned suggest that an extraordinarily consistent pattern of ethnic dispersion and residential integration (Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3). Among the five major nationality groups present in the city none exhibited a marked tendency to cluster strongly in any specific borough. This general impression is confirmed by the use of the index to calculate the dissimilarity in residential patterns of each of the groups from one another. Of the five, the highest indices related to the German-born cohort who were slightly overrepresented in the central borough of Christchurch, but these were all below the index of 20, and had declined substantially in value by 1896. It is conceivable that if the Vogelite immigration schemes had attracted greater numbers of Germans to Christchurch, these later arrivals might have assisted in creating distinctly German neighbourhoods. This was never a possibility for the numerically dominant nationality groups whose indices of segregation are so

Table 4.3 Indices of Segregation and Dissimilarity for Foreign-Born Groups By Birthplace, 1886 and 1896

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Indices</u>	
<hr/>		
Of Segregation		
	<u>1886 (3 boroughs)</u>	<u>1896 (5 boroughs)</u>
Irish	2.8	3.8
English	4.2	5.2
Scot	6.2	7.0
Australian	11.9	7.2
German	17.9	10.8
Of Dissimilarity		
	<u>1886 (3 boroughs)</u>	<u>1896 (5 boroughs)</u>
Irish and English	3.2	5.3
Irish and Scottish	3.9	4.2
Irish and Australian	12.3	9.2
Irish and German	18.5	12.5
English and Scot	7.1	8.2
English and Australian	12.8	7.2
English and German	19.3	11.8
Scot and Australian	14.8	11.4
Scot and German	17.1	14.4
Australian and German	6.5	6.9

Notes

1. Source: Indices were calculated from Census of New Zealand, 1886, Table 7, p. 148, and 1896, Table 9, pp. 144-45.
2. In calculation the following formula was used: $D = \frac{1}{2} / \sum |x_i - y_i|$, where x_i represents the proportion of any total birthplace group present in any borough i , and y_i represents the proportion of the total group with which it is being compared which is also present in that particular borough.
3. The Index of Segregation measures the segregation of any one group resident in any borough of the city against the proportion of all other foreign-born groups, excluding the native-born, which are resident in that particular borough.

Table 4.4 Percentage Distribution Of Population Across All Boroughs By Selected Religious Denomination, 1886

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Boroughs</u>			<u>Total</u>
	1	2	3	
Roman Catholic	50.9	40.6	8.5	100
Church of England	54.3	28.4	17.3	100
Presbyterian	54.3	34.1	11.6	100
Weslyan Methodist	39.7	29.0	31.3	100
Baptist	51.9	33.6	14.5	100

Notes

1. Source: Percentages derived from Census of New Zealand, 1886, Table 7, p. 121.

2. Numerical categories: 1= Christchurch; 2= Sydenham; 3= St. Albans.

low as to suggest total residential integration.

Similar results were obtained by applying these methods to ascertain the spatial distribution of religious denominations at borough-level. Viewing the raw percentage data, one is immediately struck by the relatively even spread of religious groups around the city (Tables 4.4 and 4.5). Curious anomalies in the wider picture, however, are the Wesleyan Methodists who appear to have favoured residence in St. Albans, and Roman Catholics, who were more likely to settle to the south of the North Town Belt. The index gives partial support to this preliminary observation, yielding an index of 22.9 for Wesleyan dissimilarity from Roman Catholics in 1886, a momentum which had weakened marginally a decade later (Table 4.6). Nonetheless, the indices obtained from the borough-level data clearly suggest once again an overall pattern of mixed residency, minimal clustering and a low level of segregation.

It is tempting to conclude from the indices used to measure segregation at borough-level that Irish Catholic immigrants in Christchurch made their

Table 4.5 Percentage Distribution Of Christchurch Population Across All Boroughs By Selected Religious Denomination, 1896

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Boroughs</u>					<u>Total</u>
	1	2	3	4	5	
Roman Catholic	46.3	28.6	7.4	13.5	4.1	100
Church of England	43.5	22.9	14.1	14.0	5.5	100
Presbyterian	41.6	27.2	12.2	15.3	3.8	100
Weslyan Methodist	30.2	29.1	21.2	12.4	7.1	100
Baptist	34.9	27.3	15.3	20.2	2.3	100

Notes

1. Source: Percentages derived from Census of New Zealand, 1896, Table 8, pp. 109-110.

2. Numerical categories: 1= Christchurch; 2= Sydenham; 3= St. Albans; 4= Linwood; 5= Woolston.

3. Errors in addition were a result of rounding percentages to the nearest decimal point.

personal and collective encounter with the city in mixed residential neighbourhoods. However, boroughs are quite large areal units for detailed analysis of urban geography and the definition of their boundaries is vague and susceptible to change between one Census and another. Furthermore, it is conceivable that the gross measure of data obtained from these units conceals significant concentrations that might only be revealed at micro-level.⁴ For example, although Roman Catholics constituted only 10 percent of the population of Sydenham in 1886, 80 percent of the group may have clustered closely in one particular section of the borough. On the other hand spatial proximity, where it existed, may have been a far more discrete process, closely related to kinship ties or regional origins and discernable only along certain

⁴ Compare, for example, the analyses of residential areas in nineteenth-century Detroit by JoEllen Vinyard, The Irish on the Urban Frontier: Nineteenth-Century Detroit, (New York: Arno Press, 1976), pp. 174-75, and Olivier Zunz, The Changing Face Of Inequality, pp. 21-22, 47-59, 81-88.

Table 4.6 Indices Of Segregation and Dissimilarity For Religious Groups By Denomination, 1886 and 1896

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Indices</u>	
<hr/>		
	Of Segregation	
	<u>1886 (3 boroughs)</u>	<u>1896 (5 boroughs)</u>
Roman Catholic	9.6	9.7
Church of England	6.8	5.5
Presbyterian	5.8	4.4
Weslyan Methodist	16.6	14.3
Baptist	2.2	9.2
	Of Dissimilarity	
	<u>1886 (3 boroughs)</u>	<u>1896 (5 boroughs)</u>
Roman Catholic and Church Of England	12.2	8.6
Roman Catholic and Presbyterian	6.5	6.5
Roman Catholic and Weslyan	2.9	17.2
Roman Catholic and Baptist	7.0	14.6
Church of England and Presbyterian	5.8	5.5
Church of England and Weslyan	14.6	14.9
Church of England and Baptist	5.2	11.7
Presbyterian and Weslyan	19.8	14.3
Presbyterian and Baptist	2.9	8.2
Weslyan and Baptist	16.9	12.6

Notes

1. Source: Indices were calculated from Census of New Zealand, 1886, Table 7, p. 121, and 1896, Table 8, pp. 109-110.
2. The formula used in calculating the indices was the same as that employed in Table 4.3.

street-block frontages. In either case a geographical unit much smaller than a borough would be required to capture subtle patterns of co-residence in nineteenth-century Christchurch.

A combination of sources has been used to determine the spatial distribution of Irish Catholics within individual boroughs. Though less reliable than the secure foundation provided by a manuscript Census, careful cross-referencing of quantitative data has eliminated the worst omissions and errors in

extant listings. This point is vividly illustrated in relation to Wise and Company's New Zealand Directories, which have been employed extensively in the following analysis. Dating from 1874, and published in bound volumes at regular intervals, these contain a directory of streets in alphabetical order with residents and businesses enumerated from one end of the street to the other. Conveniently, intersections which break streets into block-frontages are clearly indicated and the occupation of heads-of-household are sometimes listed. However, there are potential difficulties involved in using this particular source. The most glaring weakness of the city directories is their limited information gathering which makes it difficult to determine whether an individual referred to by the enumerators in one year is the same individual listed at different points in time or in different places. Moreover, directories vary in whom they aim to include and are sometimes inconsistent in that practice. It is possible that the information provided is inaccurate, as with all enumerations by canvassers. Nonetheless, meticulous checking and testing of coverage against a variety of other sources such as Electoral Rolls and Church records can minimise these problems.

The Wise and Company's Directory of 1878, purporting to include "the suburbs of Avonville, Bingsland, Merevale [sic], Phillips'Town, St. Albans, Sydenham and Waltham", was the first of the series to make any kind of attempt at comprehensive coverage of Christchurch streets. Unfortunately rigorous cross-checking of the provided data against Baptismal Registers, Birth and Death Certificates, Wills and Electoral Rolls, suggests that this claim is misleading. While its enumeration of the central business area is reliable, this

early directory failed to list a number of Irish Catholic labouring families resident in the city at this time. The home of James and Mary Close, for example, built on freehold land which formed part of rural section 79 in Hazeldean Road was by-passed by enumerators.⁵ Similarly, the households of Thomas and Bridget Dalton in Madras Street South, and Martin and Bridget Gallagher on the East Belt, were not noted in 1878.⁶ Richard and Mary Holehan, who had married in Ballyhole, County Kilkenny, in February 1875, were continually resident in the city from the birth of their first child later that year, but were not listed until 1887.⁷

Others fared even worse. A number of working-class Catholic families, some of whom spent several years in Christchurch, left no trace whatsoever in sources of this nature. The households of John and Margaret Hennessey,⁸ John and Honora Flynn,⁹ and Thomas and Ellen Fitzpatrick,¹⁰ for example, although located in the city during the late 1870s and early 1880s, cannot be

⁵ Electoral Roll--City of Christchurch District 1877-78, no. 568, p. 20; Birth Index, 501/1878; RFNZ, 1882; The Will of James Close, 5088/1904, NA-CH; Death Index, 587/1904; The Will of Mary Close, 8874/1916, NA-CH; Death Index, 17/1916.

⁶ Ibid., no. 568, p. 20; Birth Index, 1066/1878 and 501/1878.

⁷ Birth Index, 405/1877, 673/1881, and 601/1885; Tr.Bapt.reg. CBS 1597a./1885.

⁸ Ibid., 1308/1877; Death Index, 273/1899.

⁹ Ibid., 1643/1878, 309/1880, 1798/1881, and 1220/1885. The Flynnns were born in County Kerry in 1851, and married in Christchurch in September, 1877. They rented a property in Gloucester street in 1878, where their first child was born later the same year, moving first to Woolston and then to Brougham Street, where John ran a contracting business from 1881 until 1885.

¹⁰ Ibid., 164/1877 and 1240/1880.

found in the volumes covering these years. Clearly, any attempt to base a rigorous analysis of social topography on these early directories alone would be fallacious.

Despite the serious flaws of the directory of 1878, some impressionistic observations can be made when the volume is linked carefully with other sources.¹¹ Firstly, it seems apparent that a small cluster of Catholics had developed at this time around an area of Addington centred upon Harman Street and Park Road.¹² A large number of this group had been born in County Cork, but, while they shared a common regional background, their paths of emigration to Christchurch revealed considerable variation. Mary Murphy emigrated to New Zealand in 1862 at the age of twenty-seven, working as a servant for two years before marrying the son of a small farmer, Cornelius Hickey, in May, 1864.¹³ With their savings they were able to buy and maintain a property in Harman Street that was valued at £300 by 1882.¹⁴ Daniel Kirton and Mary

¹¹ For this purpose the 1878 directory was supplemented with the Baptismal and Marriage Registers of The Church of The Blessed Sacrament and Shand's Track, held at the Canterbury Public Library. This data was linked with Christchurch Register of Births, Volumes 1-70; Lyttelton Register of Births, Volumes 1-11; Leeston Register of Births, Volumes 1-8; Christchurch Register of Deaths, Volumes 1-26. Further linkages were made with wills, probates, and bankruptcy files held at National Archives, Christchurch.

¹² A plan of Christchurch and Suburbs compiled for the Lyttelton Times around 1878 proved useful in locating these households. See Map 124, Canterbury Museum Archives.

¹³ The Will of Cornelius Hickey, 1610/1888, NA-CH; Death Index, 601/1888 and 300/1900; Tr.Marr.reg. CBS 69a./1864; Birth Index, 167/1870 and 1285/1878; Im-CH 4/36, NA-W. Cornelius arrived in Lyttelton aboard the Sebastopol (14-12-1861), and died of phthisis in Christchurch on 16 December 1888, leaving Mary a widow until her death in 1900.

¹⁴ RFNZ, 1882.

Bennis, on the other hand, had joined the exodus of younger Irish to England where they met and were married in Deptford, Kent, in 1862, making the final step of their journey one year later when they left the Immigration Barracks in Addington for a leasehold property on Part-rural Section 72.¹⁵ In contrast, it was several years after their marriage in 1870 that James Halpin and Julia Keppel decided to leave Cork and transfer their household to New Zealand.¹⁶ Arriving on the *Waitangi* with two young children on October 4, 1877, the Halpins settled near the Barracks where their daughter, Julia, was born on October 8 the same year.¹⁷ The household was augmented further in 1879 with the arrival of James' younger brother, Cornelius, from County Limerick.¹⁸

Propinquent to the strong contingent from County Cork were several families drawn from various parts of Ireland, together with a small number of English Catholics and their Irish wives. Patrick McCarten, for example, from Castlewellen in County Down, worked in the neighbourhood as a carter during the late 1870s,¹⁹ while Bridget Hancock's English husband, John, whom she had married in Adelaide, ran a tailoring business in Selwyn Street.²⁰ It was

¹⁵ Ibid.; Birth Index, 3009/1864 and 249/1878; Death Index, 498/1880. Their property was valued at £140 in 1882.

¹⁶ Birth Index, 357/1881.

¹⁷ Ibid., 1622/1877; Im-CH 4/159, NA-W.

¹⁸ Death Index, 661/1881; Im-CH 4/172. Cornelius arrived on the *Piako* (5-3-1879).

¹⁹ Birth Index, 1576/1877; Death Index 248/1877. Patrick McCarten's wife, Sarah Dorrian, was born in Downpatrick, County Down, where the couple were married on 24 October 1867.

²⁰ Ibid., 82/1878 and 218/1879; Death Index, 153/1886.

with the spiritual welfare of families such as these in mind that the parish priest, Father Ginaty, had purchased land on which a church and a school were constructed in 1880 for a total of £850.²¹ James Rennell, Patrick Pope and William Delaney served energetically on the school committee and it was through their efforts that teachers were secured and paid.²²

An equally complex but clearly discernable mode of settlement in Addington, based on strong kinship ties, was revealed in the residential choices of the O'Callaghan family. John O'Callaghan appears to have lived with his future wife, Elizabeth Graham, at Harman Street prior to their marriage in 1880,²³ while his older brother, Denis, settled nearby in Lincoln Road.²⁴ Jeremiah and Bridget O'Callaghan had formed the advance guard for this group, arriving at Lyttelton with their infant son Cornelius in 1866.²⁵ They were joined later by a younger cousin, Jeremiah, who married Johanna Dineen, and settled in Addington.²⁶ Johanna's brother, the bootmaker Jeremiah Dineen, had emigrated in 1865 and held property situated in Madras Street South.²⁷

²¹ Redwood, Sketch, p. 52, MAW.

²² Report of Very Reverend Stephen Cummings, SM, Diocesan Administrator During the Absence of His Lordship, Rt. Reverend Dr. Grimes, Bishop of Christchurch (ad limina apostolorum), c. 1891, CDA.

²³ The couple married at the Holy Trinity Anglican Church in Lyttelton, and the marriage certificate appears to be clearly in error in regard to their length of residence in the colony. Lyttelton Marriage Index, 44/1880.

²⁴ Im-CH 10/1, NA-W; Im-CH 11/13, NA-W; Birth Index, 1328/1878.

²⁵ Death Index, 18/1877.

²⁶ Ibid., 59/1879 and 216/1900.

²⁷ Birth Index, 713/1878 and 83/1881. Jeremiah Dineen married Mary Dinihan at Christchurch on 17 March 1866.

The Cassin brothers, Hugh, John and Michael, from Queen's County, further demonstrated the familial pattern of Irish adjustment in their decision to settle together in response to strong kinship ties.²⁸ Hugh Cassin's sister-in-law, Honora Leathwick, lived one block away in Windmill Road,²⁹ while his brother-in-law, Michael Lawler, held a freehold property in Falsgrave Street.³⁰

A similar pattern of Catholic settlement had begun to emerge in the suburb of Waltham, located in the eastern section of Sydenham. Here, many Catholic families had chosen to make homes on vacant land below the South Town Belt which was only sparsely populated and still mainly rural in character. Prominent among these immigrants were a group of Irish Catholics that had strong links with County Galway. Jane Grant had arrived on the *Indian Empire* in March, 1864, and worked as a domestic servant until her marriage to Hugh Maher in 1872.³¹ Her brother Robert, whom she had accompanied on the voyage out, delayed his decision to marry until 1877 when he became attached to a newly arrived cook from County Fermanagh, Mary McAloon.³² The

²⁸ The Will of Hugh Cassin, 1056/1885, NA-CH; Death Index, 189/1885; Im-CH 4/31, 4/36 and 4/50, NA-W. Hugh, and his wife Anne, had arrived aboard the William Miles on 8 August 1860. They were followed by Michael on the Sebastopol (14-12-1861) and John on the Accrington (5-9-1863).

²⁹ Birth Index, 1688/1877 and 436/1882. Wise's lists the householder as Mrs. Leathwick. It is probable that her English-born husband, Benjamin, was temporarily absent due to the demands of his occupation as an engine-driver.

³⁰ RFNZ, 1882. Michael Lawler's holdings in Sydenham were valued at £500, and his three acres in Selwyn County at £9.

³¹ Im-CH 4/58, NA-W; Birth Index, 1165/1878 and 1261/1880; Death Index, 610/1892.

³² Ibid., 4/157, 4/163 and 4/178, NA-W; Tr.Marr.reg CBS 130a./1877; Death Index, 21/1911. Mary McAloon arrived on the Wiltshire (17-2-1877).

couple purchased a home worth £300 in Fourth Street East, close to the residence of Jane and Hugh Maher on First Street.³³ Hugh's brother, Daniel, a carpenter from County Tipperary, lived nearby with his Galway-born wife, Mary.³⁴ Complementing the familial connections of this group was the presence of Mary's brother James Connolly, who worked as a carter from his residence on Third Street East.³⁵ Thus, in a familiar migratory sequence, kinship ties and common regional origins formed a magnetic chain which not only attracted immigrants "half the world from home", but determined the section of town in which they would reside at their destination.

An examination of residential patterns elsewhere in Christchurch shows that Irish Catholics had begun to express a preference for properties on the east side of the city close to Church of the Blessed Sacrament in Barbadoes Street. Although the land forming part of Rural Sections 8 and 9 immediately opposite the Church was largely uninhabited in 1878, the area extending from Barbadoes Street into the suburb of Linwood, and south from Armagh Street down into the suburb of Waltham was a favoured site for settlement. There were small clusters of Catholics evident in both Phillipstown and Bingsland, as well as on the Waltham side of the South Town Belt where a few Catholic households

She was followed by her younger brother John on the Hereford, (19-1-1878), and by another brother, Hugh, and sister, Ellen, aboard the same ship (30-12-79).

³³ RFNZ, 1882; Wise's Street Directory, 1881; Birth Index, 1149/1878 and 1760/1880.

³⁴ Birth Index, 582/1876; Tr.Bapt.reg. CBS 1082a./1876.

³⁵ Ibid., 1305/1878; Death Index, 468/1880.

were to be found scattered along the railway line. The East Town Belt, conveniently situated near important arterial routes linking the city to its outer suburbs, was an especially popular choice for Catholic workers and those running small businesses. Thomas and Margaret O'Connell, for example, held freehold land on the corner of Lichfield Street and the Belt from which they worked a grocery store, raised a family of eight children, and nursed Thomas's widowed father until his death in 1886.³⁶ Thomas's sister, Elizabeth Geoghegan, ran a similar enterprise with her husband, Michael, near the St. Asaph Street intersection,³⁷ while her second brother-in-law, the Galway-born bootmaker, Michael Mahoney, lived on a property next to the Eastern Hotel.³⁸

The availability of religious instruction, Catholic schooling, and rites of passage, along with the possibility of regular contact with Irish priests, were factors that must have figured prominently in the decisions of Catholics who chose to live on the east side. It was especially comforting to settle among people who shared a similar world-view and cultural values to themselves, in an ethnic community centred around the activities of the parish church. Spatial proximity was a therefore strategic activity directed at bringing about a certain state of affairs. It endowed the social topography of the city with considerable

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 402/1877 and 69/1882; Death Index, 2/1877 and 556/1886; RFNZ, 1882. The augmented family household, containing an ageing parent and perhaps an unmarried brother or sister, was characteristic of the Irish Catholic experience in Christchurch.

³⁷ Tr.Bapt.reg. CBS 1120/1876 and 1382/1877.

³⁸ RFNZ, 1882; Birth Index, 189/1878 and 1446/1881; Death Index, 124/1880.

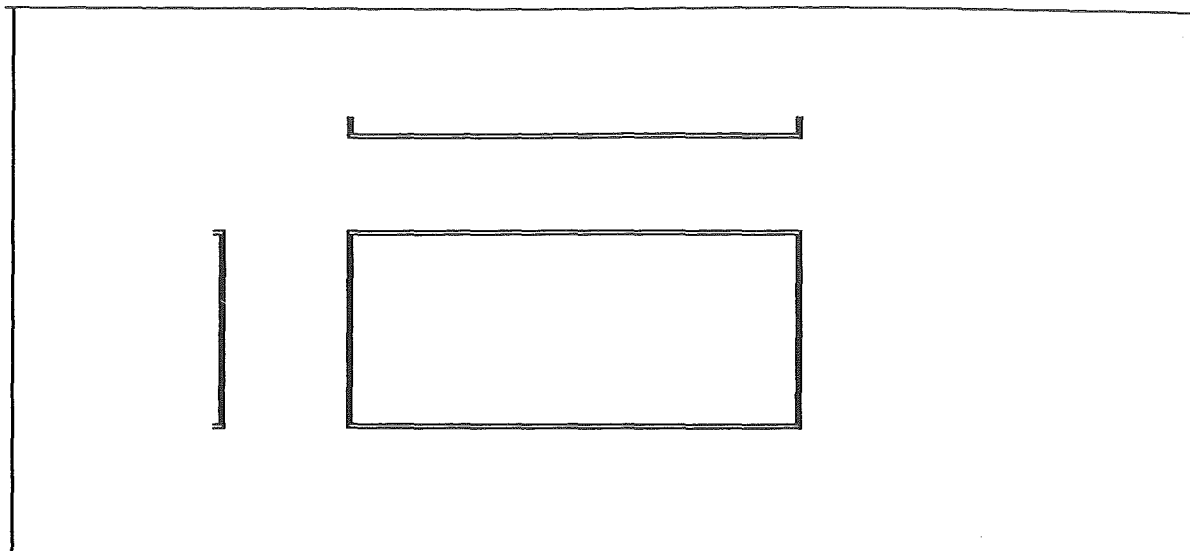
meaning and represented a means to effect communicative action within a shared interpretive framework.

Despite its limitations, the street directory of 1878 gives clues to patterns that would otherwise remain hidden beneath a facade of inter-ethnic propinquity. In 1878, Irish Catholics tended to avoid residence in areas of the city north-west of the Avon River. Distinctive clusters had formed around Addington and in the south-eastern suburb of Waltham, while many immigrants purchased properties east of Barbadoes Street near the Church of the Blessed Sacrament, the parish school and the growing number of Catholic businesses that were forming along High Street. Contrary to conventional wisdom, ethnicity played a dominant role in a pattern of settlement which was subtle yet tenacious, diffuse yet visible, and reflected something quite unlike the pathological confines of the ghetto or the random dispersion of a residential melting-pot. However, we need to ask whether residential bonding was a temporary phenomenon. Could it merely have been a brief interlude in the adjustment of the immigrants to a new environment? Was there any continuity to this pattern of settlement over time?

To test the hypothesis that the immigrants displayed a clear and consistent tendency to cluster in Christchurch during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, I selected the Wise and Company's Directory of 1886-7 as sufficient for analysis provided that it was used, once again, in conjunction with other quantitative data.³⁹ When carefully checked against baptismal registers,

³⁹ The concept of clustering denotes the level at which geographic concentration becomes statistically significant for Catholics in a given area.

Figure 4.1 The Street-Block Structure



Notes

1. Source: Based on the cluster of six-block frontages developed by Olivier Zunz, *The Changing Face of Inequality*, Figure 2.1, p. 23.
2. Both opposing frontages are chosen at random where appropriate.
3. Frontages shared by two different blocks are assigned to one or other of these structures.

marriage records, electoral rolls, wills and death certificates for Catholics resident in the city at this time, it became clear that this directory rendered a far more complete survey of city households than any of its predecessors. All streets in the area enclosed within the Town Belts were enumerated accurately, as were those which lay in the borough of Sydenham between Lincoln Road and Wilson's Road. The coverage of St. Albans, Phillipstown and Linwood captured those Catholic households located in these areas and some attempt had been made to canvass the peripheral suburbs of Opawa, Fendalton, Riccarton and New Cambridge, where listings were given in alphabetical order without any reference to street designations. Moreover, the extent of the coverage for the boroughs of Sydenham, Christchurch, and St. Albans in 1886 had the distinct advantage of enabling reference to the indices of dissimilarity and segregation

calculated from the Census data of that year. By utilising the street directory and supplementary sources as a baseline for a micro-level analysis, it became possible to assess whether the borough-level statistics concealed important clusters of Irish Catholics in the city.

The decision of the early city-builders to lay out the streets of Christchurch with precise "chess-board monotony" is especially convenient for historical research because it provides an invaluable sampling frame and an appropriate sampling unit--the *street-block structure*.⁴⁰ This unit is small enough to permit the sifting of data at micro-level and flexible in terms of its analytical possibilities and offers potentially rewarding results in the search for ethnic concentrations (see Figure 4.1).⁴¹ It allows the examination of residential preference across the entire street-block, or alternatively along each individual street-frontage of that specific block. Directly opposing street-frontages, randomly selected from adjacent blocks, are then added to the original street-block in order to reconstruct neighbourhood patterns. Finally, a researcher assesses the overall sample, encompassing multiple street-block

⁴⁰ J.P. Morrison, The Evolution of a City: the Story of the Growth of the City and Suburbs of Christchurch, the Capital of Canterbury, in the years from 1850-1903 (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1948), pp. 12-13, 28. In sections of Sydenham roads had been "haphazardly formed" prior to the grant of self-government on September 20, 1877. Nevertheless, the overall shape of the district's layout was still consistent with the familiar grid plan of Christchurch.

⁴¹ The *street-block structure* used here is based on the six-front block cluster developed by the eminent American urban historian Olivier Zunz, for the study of Detroit. For a detailed outline of his methodology, see Olivier Zunz, "The Organisation of the American City in the Late Nineteenth Century: Ethnic Structure and Spatial Arrangement in Detroit", Journal of Urban History 3 (1977): 443-66; The Changing Face of Inequality, pp. 20-27, 434-37.

Table 4.7 Indices Of Segregation For Roman Catholics Across Sampled Street-Block Structures, 1887

<u>Geographic Unit</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Indices</u>
Street-Block Structure	56	33.5
Street-Block	56	40.1
Street-Block Frontage	297	58.6

Notes

1. The formula used in calculating the indices was the same as that employed in Table 4.3.
2. All indices have been rounded off to the nearest decimal point.

structures, to ascertain the relative propinquity or randomness of immigrant settlement in the city and the implications of any such findings.⁴²

The index of dissimilarity, which had pointed to ethno-religious propinquity at borough-level, was again employed to discern the level of

⁴² For this analysis I worked from the street directory of 1886-7 and designed a sampling strategy to take full advantage of the city's grid-style layout. After making a thorough street-by-street survey of the areas covered by Wise's, I prepared a composite map of Christchurch on which all wholly or partly residential street-blocks were located and numbered. In the central city, I eliminated an area covering twenty-seven street-Blocks and 109 occupied frontages which was almost wholly devoid of private residences, other than the ubiquitous boarding-houses and hotels that mainly served a single male clientele. This district could be clearly identified as the commercial core of the city where the majority of general retail shops, professional offices, craft shops, banks, warehouses, businesses and industries were situated.

A sample of residential street-blocks was then drawn from each remaining section of the map and two randomly selected opposing street-frontages were added to each of these to construct a number of street-block structures which could then be divided into three separate units--frontage, block, or street block structure--for examination (see figure 4.1). The resulting sample comprised fifty-six such triple-unit structures spread throughout the boroughs of Sydenham, Christchurch, and St. Albans, and the suburbs of Phillipstown, Bingsland and Linwood. The sample contained a mean of 38 households per block-structure and a total of 2136 listings, of which 188 were Catholic, on 297 occupied frontages.

segregation, between Catholics and non-Catholics, present in all three units of the street-block structure. This analysis confirmed the tentative conclusions that had been drawn from the street directory of 1878. All the indexes computed from the sampled block-level data revealed significant clustering of immigrant Catholics in Christchurch, a propensity that increased as the size of the unit being viewed became smaller (Table 4.7). At the level of a six-sided block structure the resulting index of 33.5 was relatively mild, but this grew to 40.1 across block units and 58.6 along all sampled frontages that were occupied. Clearly, the likelihood that Catholic settlement occurred at random is doubtful for all three geographical levels.

Further examination of the data to test the validity of this finding and to pinpoint the sites of Catholic clustering with greater accuracy was possible through the use of the chi-square procedure.⁴³ Perhaps the most striking feature of this analysis of the settlement pattern was that immigrants preferred to reside close to the Church of the Blessed Sacrament. This was particularly evident in those blocks situated in an area of town that included that portion of Sydenham east of Hawdon Street, the strip of land from Barbadoes Street east

⁴³ Representing a natural measure of the departure of observed from expected frequencies under various hypotheses the chi-square statistic, X^2 , is expressed by the formula $\sum (f_o - f_e)^2 / f_e$, where f_o is the actual frequency for a given cell and f_e is the expected frequency for that cell. For the purposes of ascertaining the randomisation of settlement the data collected was sorted on a single variable--Catholicity--and chi-square tests were carried out on all street-block structures within the sample. If immigrant Catholics were indeed distributed at random across Christchurch then one would expect to find in each street-block unit a similar distribution of households reflecting that found throughout the city as a whole. Working with only one degree of freedom the 5% level was set as the criterion of significance and the null hypothesis was accepted or rejected in relation to the chi-square value of 3.84.

to the Town Belt as far as Oxford Terrace, and sections directly opposite the Convent Grounds toward the lower end of Madras Street north of the South Town Belt. Cumulatively, the fourteen block-structures located on the East Side attracted 50% of the total sampled Catholic households, a neighbourhood they shared with only 24% of the non-Catholic total. Clustering appeared to be strongest statistically around William Street and along Barbadoes Street South, both of which continued to retain their Catholic flavour for many years. There were significant complementary clusters apparent between Hawdon and Madras Streets as far down as Gordon Street, and further east in the area surrounding Buffon Street. Conversely, Catholics continued to eschew residency in those blocks situated to the north-east of the Avon River much as they had done in 1878. Only 11% of the total sampled Catholic households were to be found in the seventeen street-block structures which lay in this section of the city, and of these nearly half were situated in a small area around Manchester Street North where the parish of St. Mary's was eventually established in 1889.

Indicative of the Catholic preference for residency on the East Side of the city, close to the parish church, were those homes situated along Barbadoes Street South in the suburb of Waltham (Table 4.8). These households appear to have been connected to other residences in the vicinity by a combination of factors including kinship ties, shared shipboard experiences, and common regional origins. Michael Commons of County Limerick, for example, had arrived at Lyttelton aboard the *Mermaid* in 1862, following the path of his older sister Ellen Kiely and her husband John, who had made their voyage out the previous year on the *Chrysolite*. He was joined in Christchurch three years later

Table 4.8 Barbadoes Street South, Sydenham

<u>1886-7</u>	<u>1896-7</u>
...Byron Street...	...Byron Street...
McArthur, Mrs. Christina	Elvey, Harold
McHugh, Thomas, labourer	Tinnelly, Charles
O'Malley, John, labourer	O'Malley, John
Regan, Barber, labourer	Groundwater, William
...Kingsley Street...	Regan, Barbour
Adams, Ebenezer, engine driver	...Kingsley Street...
Andrews, Edgar, grocer	Hartland, John Ernest
Creagh, Peter, stoker	Turkington, Henry
...Wordsworth Street...	...Wordsworth Street...
Waddell, Thomas, labourer	Rodgers, William
Menzies, Adam, hairdresser	Meikle, James.J.
Mulroyan, William,	Mulroyan, William
O'Brien, Thomas, labourer	Perham, William
...Coleridge Street...	...Coleridge Street...
Wraight, William	Wraight, William
Mahoney, Jeremiah, labourer	Condon, Joseph
Commons, Michael, bootmaker	Commons, Michael
McQuinn, John, labourer	McQuinn, John
Belmer, Charles	Belmer, Charles
...Lord Brougham Street...	...Brougham Street...

Notes

1. Table 4.8 lists those homes enumerated on the right-hand side of Barbadoes Street moving south from the Town Belt.
2. All Catholic listings appear in bold type.
3. Sources: Wise and Company's New Zealand Directories, 1886-7 and 1896-7; Transcript of the Baptismal and Marriage Registers of the Church of The Blessed Sacrament and Shand's Track, Canterbury Public Library; Christchurch Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages; Probate Files, CH 171, National Archives, Christchurch.

by his brother Patrick, but it was not until 1874 that the group were reunited

with their mother, Ellen Commons, and their younger brother Jeremiah.⁴⁴

When Michael married Mary McManus, a domestic servant from County

Fermanagh, in 1881, the couple moved into his freehold property at Barbadoes

Street and began their married life under the watchful eye of an ailing Ellen

⁴⁴ Im-CH 4/35, 4/45, 4/63 and 4/111, NA-W; Im-CH 10/1, NA-W. Ellen Commons was accompanied aboard the Rakaia (26-4-1874) by her son Jeremiah, his wife Alice, and their six children. They were nominated for passages to the colony by Patrick Commons, who arrived on the Eastern Empire (4-1-1865).

Commons.⁴⁵ Jeremiah and Alice Commons settled at the lower end of High Street beside the East Town Belt,⁴⁶ while Ellen Kiely, who had remarried after the death of her first husband, lived on Waltham Road.⁴⁷

John O'Malley, like Michael Commons, had made his way to New Zealand aboard the *Mermaid*, to join his brother Michael, who had left the family home in Ragoon, County Galway, and sailed on the *Rhea Sylvia* in 1861.⁴⁸ In a drawn out sequential process that typified Irish Catholic emigration to Christchurch, the brothers were gradually reinforced by their younger siblings, their mother, and a number of cousins.⁴⁹ Michael O'Malley, who married his cousin, Honora, purchased a section on Barbadoes Street between Wordsworth and Coleridge Streets, where the couple remained throughout their lives.⁵⁰ There they were joined by the growing family of John and Mary O'Malley⁵¹ and later by that of their sister Nora, and her husband, Patrick Dowd.⁵² A second sister, Mary Nolan,⁵³ lived nearby in Taylor Street next

⁴⁵ Tr.Marr.reg. CBS 289a./1881; Tr.Bapt.reg. CBS 1877a./1887 and 2229a./1889; Death Index, 569/1885.

⁴⁶ Death Index, 662/1897.

⁴⁷ Tr.Marr.reg. CBS 103a./1876; Ellen Butler, intestate, 634/1957, NA-CH; Death Index, 395/1898 and 209/1905.

⁴⁸ Im-CH 4/33 and 4/45, NA-W.

⁴⁹ Descendent information, Rita McKinnon.

⁵⁰ The Will of Michael O'Malley, 8811/1915, NA-CH; Death Index, 874/1915; RFNZ, 1882. This property was worth £200 in 1882.

⁵¹ Tr.Bapt.reg. CBS, 1121/1883, 1516/1885 and 1751/1886; Death Index, 347/1899 and 468/1913.

⁵² Wise's Street Directory, 1893; Tr.Bapt.reg. CBS 2701a./1893; Birth Index, 436/1893.

door to her cousin, Patrick O'Malley, who had married William Mulroyan's Galway-born sister, Mary, in 1888.⁵⁴ Mulroyan had emigrated to the colony aboard the *Hydaspes* with his mother in 1878,⁵⁵ and settled on a property contiguous with that of Thomas and Sarah O'Brien.⁵⁶ Completing the Galway contingent in the street were Ellen McQuinn, Jeremiah Mahoney, and Thomas McHugh, whose sister Annie had married Mary O'Malley's brother, Peter McGrath.⁵⁷

In those cases where households listed in Table 4.8 relocated between the years 1886-7 and 1896-7, they were invariably replaced by other Catholic families. When, for example, Thomas and Johanna McHugh left Barbadoes Street for Waltham Road, their land was acquired by Charles and Elizabeth Tinnelly, who had married in 1888.⁵⁸ Similarly the property vacated by Peter and Annie Creagh after their move to Cashel Street in late 1887,⁵⁹ passed to

⁵³ Mary O'Malley married a carpenter, Patrick James Nolan, on 25 May 1881.

⁵⁴ Im-CH 4/87, NA-W; Tr.Marr.reg. CBS 257a./1881. Mary Mulroyan, from Kitulla in County Galway, had made her voyage out on the Hydaspes in 1869.

⁵⁵ Death Index, 630/1902.

⁵⁶ The Will of Sarah O'Brien, 5413/1905, NA-CH; Death Index, 12/1900; Birth Index, 695/1876 and 783/1878.

⁵⁷ The Will of Johanna McHugh, 6616/1909, NA-CH; Death Index, 939/1907, 219/1909 and 381/1915; Tr.Marr.reg. CBS 91a./1876; Tr.Bapt.reg. CBS 1229a./1883, 2017a./1888 and 2432a./1890.

⁵⁸ Tr.Marr.reg. CBS 498a./1888; Tr.Bapt.reg. CBS 2258a./1889 and 2458a./1891; Death Index, 127/1894, 128/1894, 129/1894, 237/1896, 104/1900 and 116/1900.

⁵⁹ Tr.Bapt.reg. CBS 2016a./1888; Birth Index, 465/1888, 307/1890 and 898/1892.

the Catholic convert, Henry Turkington, and his wife, Anne,⁶⁰ while the family of Joseph Condon succeeded that of Jeremiah Mahoney on that parcel of land situated alongside the residence of Michael Commons.⁶¹ Thus, the replacement of transient households with new arrivals, together with the persistence of several of the families resident in 1886-7, ensured that the street retained an extraordinary amount of continuity over time.

In this chapter, I attempted to show how analyses of borough-level data fail to adequately establish patterns of ethno-religious clustering among groups such as Irish Catholics. The results of my investigation are strongly suggestive of new avenues of inquiry because they invalidate the assumption that colonial settlement patterns were essentially random and unrelated to ethnicity. If I am correct in emphasising Irish spatial proximity, then what of similar kinds of social groupings in other New Zealand cities? One possible solution I have proposed is the study of the way urban space is structured in micro-level contexts such as street blocks. This is essentially an empirical task in that it is criticizable and revisable in the light of evidence sustained by the actual exercise of these abilities. However, it also based on the recognition that spatial locales

⁶⁰ The Will of Henry Turkington, 14244/1927, NA-CH; Death Index, 672/1905 and 522/1909. Anne Turkington's sister, Ellen, lived in Waltham Road with her husband, John Condon.

⁶¹ Im-CH 4/165, NA-W; Death Index, 284/1909. Joseph and Catherine Condon arrived at Lyttelton aboard the Wanganui (13-2-1878) with their four children, Michael aged 12, Daniel aged 8, Nannah aged 4, and Mary aged 6 months.

represent the practical achievement of knowledgeable and reflective social actors who have the ability to alter their conditions and circumstances.

A close examination of Irish Catholic settlement in Christchurch reveals that these immigrants structured their urban environment in such a way as to provide a collective basis for practices of communication. This process of residential bonding was not a random activity of disconnected individuals acting on their own inexplicable desires. Rather, it constituted the product of purposive agents actively engaged in coping with their social world and intermittently realising a shared lifeworld with recognisable norms, beliefs, and values. Spatial proximity was therefore an additional means by which newcomers brought a new environment into closer conformity with their purposes. And, the propensity to cluster around the parish church, its priests and essential services, points to the crucial role of religion in sustaining and mobilizing Irish ethnicity in Christchurch.

CHAPTER FIVE

GETTING ON

Patrick Henley, Galway-born farmer and prominent Hibernian, prepared a will in October of 1909.¹ Although his testamentary provisions show that he was a wealthy man with an estate worth nearly £22,000, he had risen from humble origins. The son of a tenant-farmer, Henley would have been in his late teens when the Great Famine wrought destitution and distress throughout Ireland. Mortality was particularly high in Connaught where there were large numbers of subsistence farmers, cottiers and labourers, but many of those inhabiting its eastern districts, though poor, were not so impoverished that they could not afford to emigrate.² Henley was among the more than 245,000 people who emigrated overseas from Ireland in 1851, and like the majority of the outflow he embarked for the United States.³ Working his way from New York toward the Midwest, he eventually settled in the multi-ethnic city of St. Louis where, in contrast to the eastern seaboard states, Catholicism had been already firmly established prior to the arrival of Famine Irish.⁴

¹ The Will Of Patrick Henley, 9036/1916, NA-CH; Death Index, 509/1916.

² Cousens, "Regional Death Rates in Ireland...", pp. 70-73; Oliver MacDonagh, "The Irish Famine Emigration To The United States", Perspectives in American History 10 (1976), pp. 418-30.

³ MacDonagh, p. 406. Irish emigration to the United States constituted 86.3 percent of total overseas emigration from Ireland in 1851.

⁴ Martin G. Towey, "Kerry Patch Revisited: Irish Americans in St. Louis in the Turn of the Century Era", in Timothy J. Meagher (ed.), pp. 140-41.

In 1855, Henley married Mary Nohalty, a farmer's daughter from Tuam in County Galway. The couple spent the early years of their marriage in various Midwest states including Illinois and Iowa, before Patrick's persistent ill-health, due to a bout of fever contracted in St. Louis, forced them to return briefly to Ireland.⁵ For one year Henley worked his father's farm at Headford, near Tuam, in County Galway. However, the failure of the potato crop in 1859 broke his resolve to eke out a marginal existence among the western peasants, whose already impoverished economies faced utter destruction as a result of the conjuncture. When famine again threatened and emigration from the western counties soared precipitately, the Henleys joined the exodus, this time eschewing North America for assisted passages to the British colony of New Zealand aboard the William Miles.⁶

After landing at Lyttelton in August, 1860, Henley obtained work in a nursery at the rate of 8s. per day, a job that he held for eighteen months.⁷ In early 1862, barely two years after his arrival in Canterbury, he moved his family to Springs Road in the district of Lincoln where he had acquired a grant of twenty-two acres of land for the sum of £44 under the Waste Land Regulations of 1856.⁸ Once firmly established on this property, Henley sought to expand

⁵ The Cyclopedia of New Zealand: Volume 3, Canterbury, (Christchurch: 1903) p. 661.

⁶ Im-CH 4/31, NA-W; Cousens, "The Regional Variations in Population Changes...", p. 308.

⁷ G.R. Macdonald Dictionary of Canterbury Biographies, file H.446, CM.

⁸ CH 290/3187, NA-CH. Henley filed his application for land on 11 August 1861 and received his grant on 10 June 1862.

and diversify his farming business by purchasing adjacent rural sections, mortgaging existing land-holdings in order to secure the performance of covenants in lease.⁹ In 1870 he had sufficient capital to convey one acre of land to Bishop Viard for the erection of a Roman Catholic chapel.¹⁰ This gift was supplemented by a grant of three acres to Bishop Redwood in 1876 "for a residence and garden for the use of the Priest officiating at the Church or Chapel and the schoolmaster attached to the school".¹¹ By 1903, Henley held freeholdings of more than 1500 acres in the Lincoln district and directed a substantial enterprise which yielded generous returns on his initial investments.¹²

The experience of Patrick Henley raises tantalising comparative questions about the socio-economic position and status attainment of Irish migrants in New World settings. In the the United States, the economic progress of the immigrant generation varied considerably by region. Most gains were made in the Far West and Midwest, but to a much lesser extent in Michigan, New York and Pennsylvania, and least of all in the rigidly stratified "Yankee fiefdoms" of

⁹ See, for example, CH 35 D 407, Land Registry Office, Christchurch. This particular document, dated 29 September 1867, relates to a demise of R.S. 3200 for five years whereby Patrick Henley was to purchase the property from its owner, Sarah Porcher, prior to the expiration of this period for the sum of £420. The land was conveyed by deed on 2 October 1872 (CH 71 D 42).

¹⁰ Ibid., CH 40 D 749. Henley purchased this parcel of land from Sarah Porcher for £8.8s., granting it to Viard for the consideration of 5s. "forever Upon trust for the erection of a Church Chapel or place for Public Worship for the use of persons professing the Roman Catholic Faith."

¹¹ Ibid., CH 79 D 774, 21 October 1876.

¹² Cyclopedia Of New Zealand, pp. 661-62.

New England.¹³ However, geographical location was but one specific historical condition shaping the environments in which individual Irish-American communities developed throughout the nineteenth century. The incorporation of newcomers into diverse American urban economies was also contingent upon local circumstances such as the absence or sympathy of native-born élites and the ethnic composition of the local population.¹⁴ It is likely that had Henley remained in the relatively congenial atmosphere of St. Louis his chances to rise would not have been as great, given that the socio-economic configuration that saw the Famine Irish overwhelmingly concentrated as unskilled labourers and domestic servants stood firm for a generation.¹⁵ By the turn of the century, there was an overall improvement in Irish status achievement in the city, as there was throughout the United States. But this change was largely generational in context and tended to be confined to the American-born of Irish parents.¹⁶ Viewed from this perspective, Henley's decision to sail for

¹³ See Miller, Emigrants and Exiles, pp. 495-501; Towey, pp. 145-50; Timothy Sarbaugh, "Exiles of Confidence: The Irish-American Community of San Francisco, 1880 to 1920", in Meagher (ed.), pp. 161-79; Zunz, The Changing Face of Inequality, pp. 36-39; Vinyard, pp. 150-55, 400-09; Griffen and Griffen, Natives and Newcomers, pp. 68-72, 76, 215-23; Stephan Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians, pp. 130-34, 186-94.

¹⁴ See Timothy J. Meagher, "Conclusion", in Meagher (ed.), pp. 181-83; Towey, pp. 140-42, 157; Sarbaugh, pp. 164-65, 173-74.

¹⁵ Towey, p. 145.

¹⁶ Griffen and Griffen, pp. 70-71; Thernstrom, pp. 132-34; Towey, pp. 146-47; Zunz, p. 221. A notable exception to the stereotyped generational transition "from Paddy to Studs" appears to have been San Francisco where an atmosphere of mutual tolerance (at least among whites) and open competition allowed the Irish to share equally in city's economic and social rewards. See Sarbaugh, pp. 161-79.

Canterbury rather than North America in 1860 was a shrewd one for it is probable that he would not have acquired an "independence" in the United States.

To what extent, then, is the popular image of Irish Catholics as "dispossessed proletarians" relevant or applicable to those immigrants who settled in and around Christchurch? The experience of Patrick Henley would suggest that it is not. In a sense, however, Henley was an atypical emigrant in that he was part of both the Famine and post-Famine exodus. Moreover, few Irish in Christchurch and its environs were able to match the amount of wealth that he accumulated in his lifetime. Did those who arrived earliest have greater chances for advancement? Was the local economy conducive to Irish social mobility? How did newcomers shape the circumstances and conditions of daily social life within the limits imposed by the city's opportunity structures? In this chapter, I will argue that Irish Catholics as a group made modest but steady gains within a generation. The city's "plurality of opportunities" provided newcomers with a reasonable chance of homeownership and the possibility of acquiring an independence on the land.¹⁷ In contrast to many North American cities, however, the local economy did not have the capacity to generate sufficient wealth for small proprietors to climb higher on the social scale. As a consequence, most found their progress was blocked at this point.

The analysis that follows is in two sections. In the first, I explore the occupational ranking of Irish males at different points in time as one dimension

¹⁷ I am borrowing here from Howard Gillette, Jr. and Alan M. Kraut, "The Evolution of Washington's Italian-American Community, 1890-World War II", Journal of American Ethnic History 6 (1986): 7-27.

of immigrant social mobility in the city. In the second, I extend this investigation to patterns of wealth-holding by assembling and scrutinizing evidence drawn from probate files. Finally, I claim that the socio-economic achievement of Irish migrants in Christchurch diverged substantially from their counterparts in American urban systems, even though they shared common themes.

Historical studies of stratification and social mobility in nineteenth-century communities which use occupation as a surrogate for social status are fraught with ambiguity. The single most vexing problem facing historians is the task of ranking numerous occupational titles given in extant listings of dubious reliability in a general scheme of social classification. In North American historiography most surveys of mobility have tended to follow Stephan Thernstrom's pioneering analytical design for Newburyport, Massachusetts, with a primary focus on the activities of blue-collar workers and their sons.¹⁸ Many studies, however, vary quite considerably in the number of divisions of occupation employed and in the assignment of individual occupations to each strata of the adopted classification scheme. Consequently there is some uncertainty as to the comparability of different analyses. These doubts that have been compounded by the fact that the choice of classification largely predetermines the patterns of mobility found. Despite attempts at progressive amalgamation,

¹⁸ Stephan Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress, *passim*. Keith Pickens adopted a similar approach in his pioneering analysis of nineteenth-century mobility patterns, "Canterbury 1851-1881: Demography and Mobility, A Comparative Study", Ph.D thesis, Washington University, St. Louis, 1976.

categorisation remains problematic. At best, various schemes form only a rough status hierarchy from which it is assumed that significant social mobility or status variation can be measured by key attributes such as ethnicity. Not surprisingly, critics have pointed to the inability of such work to adequately capture structural change or to account for local cultural variations.¹⁹

Moreover, the perennial fascination of American scholars with the question of social mobility has tended to reduce it to little more than an abstract race of individuals on a vertical ladder of occupations where the meaning of ethnic affiliation has sometimes been obscured.²⁰

Despite the limitations of this type of analysis, the employment pattern of Irish Catholics in Christchurch formed such an important aspect of their experience that it cannot be ignored. In order to establish a firm foothold in the city and attain a measure of familial security during periods of unemployment and economic fluctuation these immigrants needed to advance beyond the ranks of the propertyless and the unskilled. I accept that occupational title is often an inconsistent piece of information that lacks exactness and gives only a partial understanding of a person's social status. Nonetheless, I am convinced that it

¹⁹ Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Quantification and the New Urban History", Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 13 (1983): 653-77; Michael B. Katz, "Occupational Classification in History", Journal of Interdisciplinary History: 3 (1972): 63-88.

²⁰ Zunz argues that "by generally implying that mobility fostered assimilation into the dominant native white American group--hence the continuous creation of a unified open class structure--historians have simply obscured the fundamental question of ethnic cohesiveness in American society." The Changing Face of Inequality, p. 39. The journey "from Paddy to Studs", which serves as a paradigm for the Irish-American experience, has been constructed on this basis.

does provide evidence as to probable earning capacity, chances for purchasing property and the dimensions of available opportunity. Used with due caution, it can be employed as a fundamental measure of how well Irish Catholics fared in their encounter with the local economy.

Table 5.1 presents the degree of occupational mobility for sampled Irish males in Christchurch between the years 1878 and 1888.²¹ In this analysis, I assigned the occupational titles given in extant listings to four vertical strata: the highest category (1) consisted primarily of professionals and merchants; the second (2) of small proprietors, public officials and clerical workers; the third level (3) contained skilled occupations; and the fourth (4) consisted of an amalgam of semi-skilled service workers and unskilled workers.²² Among Irish

²¹ To determine the extent of immigrant vertical mobility, I traced a sample of Catholic males drawn from the Transcript of the Baptismal Registers of the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament for the years 1877-1878, and another of Irish Protestants taken from the Christchurch Register of Births for 1878. Wherever possible, I made record linkages for newcomers who left the city to pursue employment in other locations. This strategy yielded sufficient data to sustain tentative conclusions about the relationship between social mobility and transience.

²² For reasons of comparability I distributed occupations among the various strata on the basis of general agreement among historians who had developed and tested well-defined classification schemes for assessing mobility rates in nineteenth-century communities. In particular, I followed the occupational codes employed by Michael Katz for his study of Hamilton, Canada West. My only variation was to collapse the semi-skilled and unskilled categories into one another to create a large single rank incorporating a cluster of occupations. In terms of prestige and remuneration it is arguable whether a move from labouring to carting, for example, connoted upward mobility or instead represented horizontal or functional movement. The addition of this collapsed category may have obscured some marginal shifts in occupational level, but it meant I was less likely to misinterpret these and report them as real instances of a shift to a higher rank. Furthermore, the use of four broad categories seemed justified on the grounds that it avoided similar kinds of empirical problems by permitting greater discrimination in the allocation of occupations and in the interpretation of data than a more artificial, narrowly defined scheme would have done. See

Catholics 75.8 percent of those in rank four in 1878 remained in rank four in 1888, while 8.1 percent were in rank three, and 16.1 percent in rank two. Protestants fared little better at the bottom with 76.2 percent persistent in this rank, indicating that nearly one-quarter had moved to the rank of artisan (9.5 percent) or petty proprietor (14.3 percent). Viewed throughout the decade, however, the proportion of men at the lowest level of the occupational hierarchy declined significantly for both groups. In 1878, 64.6 percent of the Catholic sample were located in this stratum compared to 55.2 in 1888, while the Protestant figure had fallen from 52.5 to 45 percent during the same period.

Most gains appear to have been made in rank two--the "masterless people"--which provided sufficient opportunities to have attracted a large number of the upwardly mobile. In this respect, Catholics had attained a slight advantage over their Protestant counterparts in the city by the end of the decade, increasing their proportion of independencies from 13.5 to 24.0 percent, compared to the latter's increase of 15 to 20 percent. Within ranks two and three there was a high rate of persistence, although skilled workers underwent some downward mobility, a momentum that was offset by a similar amount of movement to rank two. Overall, both the skilled sector and the thinly represented professional stratum remained remarkably stable as a proportion of sampled Irish households. This appears to indicate that existing paths of occupational mobility were not necessarily short-distanced in

Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West, pp. 343-48; Thernstrom, pp. 289-302.

Table 5.1 Occupational Mobility Of Irish Males In Christchurch, 1878-1888

A. Catholic							
Occupational rank in 1888						<u>All Ranks</u>	
		1	2	3	4	N	%
Occupat- ional rank, 1878	1	100%	0	0	0	1	1.0
	2	0	92.3	0	7.7	13	13.5
	3	0	10.0	80.0	10.0	20	20.8
	4	0	16.1	8.1	75.8	62	64.6
	N	1	23	19	53	96	
	%	1.0	24.0	19.8	55.2		100.0
B. Protestant							
Occupational Rank In 1888						<u>All Ranks</u>	
		1	2	3	4	N	%
Occupat- ional rank, 1878	1	100%	0	0	0	2	5.0
	2	16.7	66.7	16.7	0	6	15.0
	3	0	9.1	72.7	18.2	11	27.5
	4	0	14.3	9.5	76.2	21	52.5
	N	3	8	11	18	40	
	%	7.5	20.0	27.5	45.0		100.0

Notes

1. Sources: Wise and Company's New Zealand Directories 1878-1890; Probate Files, CH 171, National Archives, Christchurch; Official Assignees Files, CH 214, National Archives, Christchurch; Christchurch Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages; Electoral Rolls--New Zealand 1877-1890, Canterbury Public Library; Transcript of the Baptismal and Marriage Registers of The Cathedral of The Blessed Sacrament, Lyttelton and Shand's Track, Canterbury Public Library; A Return Of The Freeholders Of New Zealand 1882, (Wellington, 1884).
2. Figures in individual cells represent the percentage of persons in a given occupational category in 1878 that were in each category in 1888.
3. The occupational classification above is the same as that used in Chapter Three, Table 3.7, p. 140.

Table 5.2 Occupational Mobility For All Linked Irish Males, 1878-1888

A. Catholic						
Occupational Rank In 1878					<u>All Ranks</u>	
	1	2	3	4	N	%
Occupat- ional rank, 1888	1	100%	0	0	2	1.3
	2	0	93.3	0	15	9.7
	3	0	14.3	78.6	28	18.2
	4	0	22.9	5.5	109	70.8
	N	2	43	28	81	154
	%	1.3	27.9	18.2	52.6	100.0
B. Protestant						
Occupational Rank In 1878					<u>All Ranks</u>	
	1	2	3	4	N	%
Occupat- ional rank, 1888	1	100%	0	0	2	3.4
	2	10.0	80.0	10.0	10	17.2
	3	0	10.5	78.9	19	32.8
	4	0	14.8	11.1	27	46.6
	N	3	14	19	22	58
	%	5.2	24.1	32.8	37.9	100.0

Sources: All data obtained from the same sources as Table 5.1.

Christchurch and may have led the more resourceful immigrants into various types of petty-capitalist enterprise.

The notion that important avenues of Irish occupational mobility had emerged during this period is supported by evidence adduced from record linkages made with transient individuals in the original samples. When these figures are combined with those for persisters it is possible to discern a clear trend toward the achievement of proprietorship. Table 5.2 shows the rate of

occupational mobility for linked Irish males by religion. Between 1878 and 1888 the proportion of Catholics located in rank four declined by nearly one-third, with 23 percent of those in this rank attaining proprietorships by the end of the decade. This compared favourably with Protestants, for whom this segment of the work-force dropped slightly from 46.6 percent to 37.9 percent by 1888, with 11.1 percent of the upwardly mobile joining the rank of skilled artisan and a further 14.8 percent establishing proprietorships. Within the skilled sector there was a very high rate of stability. This confirmed the trends indicated by Table 5.1 and suggests that skilled workers who left the city were likely to find employment elsewhere in similar occupations. In contrast, there was a strong movement toward rank two throughout the decade; the percentage of Catholics in this rank had risen dramatically from 9.7 percent in 1878 to a striking 27.9 percent, while the corresponding increase for Protestants, from 17.2 to 24.1 percent, was considerably lower. Clearly, the available avenues of occupational mobility never entirely closed for the Irish and many improved their position in the colonial work-force.

While the data presented above indicates the degree of occupational mobility, it does not reveal the extent of horizontal movement across similar types of occupations. Table 5.3 illustrates the frequency of this form of mobility for non-transients. Within the skilled sector, the percentage of those employed in the same kind of work remained high for Catholics and Protestants over the entire decade. This tendency that was not surprising given that these people had probably spent many years learning trades that they expected to follow for their working lives and that their skills could not easily be transferred

Table 5.3 Occupational Persistence Of Irish Males In Christchurch, 1878-1888

<u>Occupational Rank</u>	Percent in Same Job, 1878-1888.	Percent Movement In Occupational Rank		
		<u>Across</u>	<u>Up</u>	<u>Down</u>
Professional				
Catholic	100.0	0	0	0
Protestant	100.0	0	0	0
Low White-Collar				
Catholic	53.8	38.5	0	7.7
Protestant	33.3	33.3	16.6	16.6
Skilled				
Catholic	80.0	0	10.0	10.0
Protestant	63.6	9.1	9.1	18.2
Semi-skilled and Unskilled				
Catholic	61.3	14.5	24.2	0
Protestant	47.6	33.3	19.0	0

Sources: All data obtained from the same sources as Table 5.1.

to other occupations. A much lower rate of persistence existed in rank two, however, where over thirty percent of both groups moved horizontally to secure different positions or establish other businesses. Significantly, those at the bottom were less inclined to remain fixed in the same job than might have been expected. This was particularly so for unskilled Irish Protestants among whom one-third had moved to different occupations within the same rank by 1888, with almost one-fifth achieving upward mobility. In comparison, the percentage of Catholics persisting in the same type of work in rank four was considerably more than for Protestants, but nearly one-quarter advanced occupationally during the decade.

The most common forms of enterprise engaged in by upwardly mobile Irish Catholic manual workers who achieved proprietorships at this time were in

agriculture and contracting. Peter Kelly of King's County, for example, had worked as a labourer around Christchurch for several years prior to his purchase of a farm in Southland in 1881.²³ Similarly, Patrick McCarten of County Down, who had worked as a carter in the city, acquired farmland at Lakeside,²⁴ while a Galway-born labourer, Michael Kelly, moved his family to a property comprising 68 acres at Greenpark.²⁵ Dairying, which was a difficult and risky venture in the absence of a central dairy factory in Christchurch, provided another avenue of opportunity for petty entrepreneurial activity that would have been long familiar to many of the immigrants. An Ulsterman, Christopher O'Neill, left his job as a storeman in 1879 to begin dairying on land situated on Ferry Road, Woolston, and was successful enough with this endeavour to have been able to leave the district and take up farmland at Makikihi near Timaru.²⁶ Dairying also proved to be a transitional occupation for Timothy Byrne of Queen's County, who worked land at Spreydon before

²³ In 1882, Peter Kelly held 319 acres in Southland valued at £500. RFNZ, 1882; Birth Index, 916/1875 and 1414/1878; Tr.Bapt.reg CBS, 1977/1882. After twenty years in Southland, Kelly returned to Christchurch in the late 1890s where he kept the Star Hotel until his death in 1907. The Will of Peter John Kelly, 6114/1907, NA-CH; Death Index, 1043/1907.

²⁴ Birth Index, 1576/1877; Death Index, 248/1877; Wise's Street Directory, 1887.

²⁵ Michael Kelly married Ellen Comer of County Galway in Christchurch on 23 May 1867. His property at Greenpark was valued at £350 in 1882. RFNZ, 1882; Birth Index, 84/1869, 369/1871, 1381/1878, and 430/1881; Death Index, 216/1891.

²⁶ Birth Index, 1059/1877, 895/1879, 80/1881 and 789/1885; Death Index, 730/1883 and 540/1918.

relocating on a property at Windsor.²⁷ By contrast, Thomas Dalton chose to operate within the city, using a freehold section at Moa Place for the purpose.²⁸

While farming constituted a primary goal for many Irish Catholics during this period, contracting was also popular and offered a reasonable level of remuneration. With a minimal investment in a few horses, a dray and tools, a man was effectively "in business" and could usually secure work, provided that he was prepared to spend long periods of time absent from his home and family. Invariably, Irish contractors relied upon kin or ethnic contacts when forming a gang for a particular job, giving this type of enterprise a distinctly communal flavour. Patrick Dowd, for example, held freehold land valued at £440 situated in Taylor Street, Waltham.²⁹ Together with two of his brothers-in-law, Charles and Peter O'Malley, he worked on various jobs around the Canterbury province building roads and tunnels, and constructing breakwaters at Sumner and Westport.³⁰ His gang included two friends, Timothy O'Brien and Patrick Nesbit, and it is likely that he was assisted from time to time by

²⁷ It is most likely that Byrne arrived in the colony from Australia. His wife, Mary Ann Webster of County Wexford, whom he married in Christchurch on 28 January 1875, was aboard the Rakaia in 1874. Im-CH 4/111, NA-W; Birth Index, 1614/1877, 1905/1879, 516/1884, 538/1886, 1132/1888 and 1171/1890; Death Index, 681/1899.

²⁸ RFNZ, 1882; Birth Index, 1066/1878, 1106/1881, 1219/1883 and 1258/1887; Death Index, 218/1878, 407/1878, 273/1910 and 708/1912.

²⁹ *Ibid.*; Birth Index, 1389/1883, 183/1885 and 440/1888.

³⁰ Descendent information, Rita McKinnon.

other kinfolk.¹⁸

An account for wages owed by Peter O'Malley for assistance in completing contracts in Manawatu and at Lyttelton illustrates the extent to which immigrants could be bound in this way.¹⁹ Neglecting his creditors who were pressing for settlement, O'Malley withdrew money deposited at the Bank of Australia and paid £10 to each of his older brothers Charles and John for work undertaken at Lyttelton, with a further £8 being given to John "for labour up north". He gave Patrick O'Malley £6, and relinquished the same amount to a brother-in-law of Charles O'Malley, in addition to a full repayment of a sum of £15 that he had borrowed from him in Wellington. Finally, he paid £18 to Michael Gilmore, a widowed brother-in-law of his sister, Bridget, for labour and the hire of a horse on the Lyttelton contract.²⁰ These various kinship ties were supplemented by assistance from men who shared the same regional origins as the O'Malley's and could be called upon to co-operate in these ventures.

What remains less clear is the kind of supporting role undertaken by the wives and older children of these men during their frequent absences. Most, no

¹⁸ "The Reminiscences of Patrick Dowd, Jr.", (n.d.) unpublished handwritten manuscript prepared for the Cheviot Historical Society and loaned to the author by Rita McKinnon.

¹⁹ Official Assignees Files, 322/1885, NA-CH.

²⁰ Michael Gilmore arrived in the colony aboard the Chariot of Fame (29-1-1863). He married Bridget Hanley, a domestic servant, at the Church of The Blessed Sacrament on 21 May 1866. Tragically, Bridget died in 1877 at the age of 32, and was buried at the Catholic cemetery in Barbadoes Street. Im-CH 4/46, NA-W; Tr.Marr.reg CBS 131/1866; Tr.Bapt.reg CBS 171/1870; Tr.Bapt.reg ST 39C/1874; Tr.Bur.reg ST 63H/1877.

doubt, would have combined the task of rearing young children with the management of the family household and livestock, much as Norah Dowd did at Taylor Street. Her daily chores must have been particularly onerous for the Dowds owned several cows by the late 1880s that eventually had to be driven from Christchurch to Port Robinson where Norah had drawn a farm in a ballot for land that had formed part of the Cheviot estate. In 1896, while still nursing the eleventh of thirteen children, she was milking eight cows and supplying butter to the district at four shillings a pound, work similar to that which she had performed in the city.²¹ Whatever their situation, men such as Patrick Dowd were as reliant on the economic contributions of their spouses to the family economy as upon their immediate kin. The crucial functions carried out by Irish wives made a great deal of difference to the success or failure of the business ventures of their menfolk, just as in rural Ireland, and their extended sphere of activity eased strained family budgets and ensured familial survival during hard times.

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of immigrant economic advancement disclosed by the decadal analysis of vertical mobility was that the Irish somehow managed to make real gains during a period of severe economic downturn. In Canterbury, the immediate effects of a fall in export prices for primary produce had been delayed by the continuation of a land boom which ensured that the slump did not reach the province until 1879. However, as economic stringencies took hold and hopes for recovery dimmed, banks began to place restrictions on credit, wages were cut and unemployment worsened.

²¹ Descendent information, Rita McKinnon.

Financial conditions fluctuated greatly between 1879-95 and the years 1879, 1883-4, 1886 and 1894 were particularly bad ones. Despite the intercession of a few relatively easier years when business prospects temporarily brightened, the depression caused widespread economic hardship and the general social malaise that resulted did little to stimulate local enterprise or bring about circumstances conducive to social mobility.²² Notwithstanding their achievements, the Irish were not immune to prevailing economic conditions and there is evidence to suggest that some suffered unfortunate setbacks during this period. For a variety of reasons a small number of Irish immigrants found it necessary or advantageous to file for bankruptcy.²³

Although bankrupts emanated from all levels of colonial society, small proprietors were particularly vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the local economy. Thomas Shannon, for example, had established a bootmaking business "with no further capital than forty pounds worth of stock" at Papanui in 1881 on premises leased for £45 pounds per annum. Though his creditors had not pressed him for repayment of debts totalling £143, Shannon's credit was

²² W.H. Scotter, A History of Canterbury, Volume 3: 1876-1950, (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1965), pp. 59-73; W.J. Gardner, "A Colonial Economy", in W.H. Oliver (ed.), The Oxford History of New Zealand, (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 75-84.

²³ Details of these cases can be viewed in the individual minute-books kept by government appointed officers known as Official Assignees who recorded proceedings for each estate and elicited signed statements by petitioners outlining the relevant details of their indebtedness. These minute-books and the conventional files that succeeded them not only reveal that immigrant ventures were sometimes marginal affairs and but also unintentionally provide the historian with rare glimpses of the economic strategies adopted by the Irish in their day-to-day struggles. For a useful discussion of bankruptcy records in New Zealand, see Denis Hampton, "Bankruptcy and Its Records", The New Zealand Genealogist, 22 (1991): 6-10.

stopped and, unable to see any way to continue in business, he filed for bankruptcy in 1885, attributing his failure to a "want of sufficient trade".²⁴

John O'Sullivan of Brosna, County Cork, worked as a coal-dealer from his home at Coleridge Street, a type of venture common in residential neighbourhoods and attractive to workers with little capital. He had begun this business with £70 borrowed from his son, James, who had received a sum of money as compensation for an injury sustained while working as a groom for a weekly wage of 15s. However, O'Sullivan had not kept any record of his transactions and, consequently, found himself facing pressure from creditors over a number of outstanding debts, including twelve months interest due on the mortgage of his property. His failure, he concluded, was caused by a hapless combination of "bad debts and bad times".²⁵

Irish farmers, too, were adversely affected by the slump and often had to eke out a marginal existence on the land at the sufferance of their creditors. James Dobson, who had worked as a labourer before turning his hand to farming, leased 110 acres at North Loburn from the Trustees of the estate of R.H. Rhodes at a rate of £27.10s. per annum. The land was of inferior quality and produced such poor crops that he had to expend a large amount of labour

²⁴ Official Assignees Files, 335/1885, NA-CH. At the time that he filed for bankruptcy Thomas Shannon, of County Tipperary, was supporting his wife Margaret, of County Limerick, and their four young children, Anthony and Margaret aged nine, Thomas aged eight, and John aged six. Birth Index, 682/1877 and 124/1879; Death Index, 673/1902.

²⁵ Ibid., 1075/1890, NA-CH; Birth Index, 1237/1878, 1210/1880, and 496/1893; Death Index, 513/1890, 134/1895 and 729/1912. John O'Sullivan married Catherine King of County Kerry in Brosna on 11 January 1869. Following his discharge for bankruptcy in Christchurch in 1890 he shifted his family to Ensor's Road, Woolston, where he began market-gardening.

grubbing out gorse. Following a term of imprisonment for a debt of £19 owed to Crothers and Company of Rangiora, Dobson filed for bankruptcy and was left without any assets other than an old horse.²⁶ An Ulster Protestant, James Colvern Anderson of Russell's Flat, Sheffield, fared almost as badly. Taking a lease on 151 acres in the district that he mortgaged to his landlord for £250 and rented for five shillings an acre, Anderson could not meet a sum of £17 obtained in judgment against him. Barely fifteen months after beginning on the farm, he was declared bankrupt with debts exceeding £500.²⁷

Many Irish petitioners faced with a hopeless financial situation perceived bankruptcy as the only means available to escape indebtedness. No doubt some immigrants contributed to their own demise by engaging in activities unrelated to their skills or previous experience or through overextension in real estate investment. However, illness and unemployment were common themes in bankruptcy cases, suggesting that these sometimes placed an inexorable burden on Irish families.²⁸ Despite its opportunities, life in nineteenth-century

²⁶ Ibid., 876/1888, NA-CH; Birth Index, 12618/1872, 14877/1874 and 651/1877. Dobson held one horse, two drays, one trap and four cows under bailment from his father-in-law, Bartholomew Taafe.

²⁷ Ibid., 146/1884, NA-CH; Birth Index, 1759/1878; Marriage Index, 4832/1878.

²⁸ William Ruddy of Inniskillen, County Fermanagh, for example, worked as a Rate Collector and Inspector for the Sydenham Borough Council at a monthly salary of £12 but was "out of a situation" two weeks prior to his petition for bankruptcy in 1887. His family had endured a great deal of sickness which had obliged him to borrow money on which he was unable to pay the interest. Furthermore, he had fallen in arrears on mortgages of his property at Charles Dickens Street which were then sold, leaving him so pressed with liabilities that he was scarcely able to give his wife anything towards the household expenses. Ibid., 733/1887, NA-CH; Birth Index, 911/1878, 1061/1881 and 1796/1883; Death Index, 343/1887.

Table 5.4 Percentage of Freeholding Irish Males in Christchurch By Religion and Occupation, 1882

<u>Occupational Rank:</u>	1	2	3	4
Catholic	100.0%	46.1	60.0	58.1
Protestant	100.0%	50.0	81.8	61.9

Source: A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand, 1882, (Wellington: 1884).

Christchurch could not always guarantee security or continuity and at worst engendered a constant precariousness to which some of the Irish succumbed. Nevertheless, it is significant that a majority of the immigrants were able to endure the aggravation of depression and hold tenaciously to gains made throughout the decade covered by this analysis. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the possession and maintenance of freehold property.

Table 5.4 presents the percentages of persisting Irish who had secured freehold property in the city by occupational rank and religion. Not surprisingly, all those located at the top of the occupational hierarchy had achieved this status. Property ownership was substantially less for rank two where Irish Protestants maintained a slight advantage. The greatest propensity for real property mobility below the highest echelons appears to have been among skilled workers, whose tendency to persist in the same occupation more than other groups of workers was matched by their investment in real estate. For Protestants this pattern was particularly pronounced with 81.9 percent achieving freeholds, compared to a lesser, but still considerable, number of Catholics (60.0 percent).

Even among those who were unable to move beyond rank four, the prospects for owning a home were remarkably good. A few examples, all drawn from those employed in unskilled occupations, will suffice. John Leader was a labourer born in County Cork in 1840.²⁹ He had married Bridget McCarthy in Massachusetts in 1871, but the couple returned to Ireland soon afterwards and emigrated to Canterbury aboard the *Adamant* in 1873.³⁰ There they joined John's brother, Patrick, who had sailed to the province on the *Lancashire Witch* in 1863 with his wife, Margaret, whom he had married in London.³¹ Both families settled together in Cashel Street East, Phillipstown, where John secured freehold property valued at £225 in 1882.³² It is less clear when a Galway-born labourer, Valentine Blake, arrived in the colony, but it is known that he married Mary Brogan of County Tyrone at the Church of the Blessed Sacrament in 1877 and resided at North Avon Road, Bingsland, on freehold land that he bequeathed to his wife at his death in 1899.³³

Similarly, a majority of unskilled Irish Protestants owned freehold property. The home of Anglican labourer, George McCullagh, for example, was

²⁹ Death Index, 827/1913.

³⁰ Im-CH 4/104, NA-W; Death Index, 635/1901; Birth Index, 202/1878, 789/1881, 78/1885 and 1518/1887.

³¹ Patrick Leader died in 1883, aged 52, leaving Margaret a widow until her death in 1894. Im-CH 4/52, NA-W; Death Index, 296/1883 and 161/1894; Margaret Leader, intestate, 2681/1894, NA-CH.

³² RFNZ, 1882.

³³ The Will of Valentine Blake, 3905/1900, NA-CH; Death Index, 716/1899; Birth Index, 743/1878 and 349/1882.

worth £245 in 1882,³⁴ while a one acre property situated in Opawa that belonged to a Presbyterian carrier from Portadown, Henry Irwin, was valued at £700.³⁵ Altogether some 58.1 percent of Catholics and 61.9 percent of Protestants in rank four were home owners in 1882, a momentum that had increased by 1888 to 67.1 percent and 76.2 percent respectively.

Clearly, such a high level of home-ownership is testimony to Irish success in the city and indicates that their social mobility cannot be measured solely in terms of occupational gains. The overwhelming desire for a freehold residence close to kinfolk and friends implies a quest for familial security within the context of an ethnic community, and it demonstrates, furthermore, that newcomers did not necessarily embrace an ethos of individual material acquisition. Rather, their economic choices seemed to reflect a strong emphasis on security of position, something which they would have been unlikely to have attained had they remained in Ireland.

Although a decadal analysis of this nature has limitations, these need not diminish the reality of what constituted dominant patterns of mobility for many Irish Catholics. Between the years 1878 and 1888 there were reversals for some members of the group, but a large number were able to attain proprietorships and a majority stood a reasonable chance of owning freehold property. Moreover, it appears likely that similar gains were made with

³⁴ RFNZ, 1882; Birth Index, 5523/1866, 5933/1867, 8542/1869, 11312/1871, 1388/1878, and 404/1881; Death Index, 316/1887. George McCullagh married Jane Reynolds in Callen, County Kilkenny, on 2 June 1862.

³⁵ *Ibid.*; Birth Index, 1267/1878, 1309/1884, 593/1887 and 995/1890; Death Index, 408/1880 and 111/1898.

increasing frequency by those who left the city, suggesting that social mobility was sometimes a product of transience. Notwithstanding these impressive achievements, however, a period of ten years provides only a slender basis for establishing longer term trends. Does a decadal survey of this type overstate the degree of success enjoyed by all Irish Catholic households across time? In order to test the explanatory power of this analysis we need to venture beyond the study of occupational mobility and explore levels of immigrant wealth-holding, which give an important indication of status achievement.

Probate files employed systematically and read in the context of other historical documents provide an alternative basis for assessing immigrant economic strategies. North American scholars, in particular, have long been aware of the value of wills and inventories in building aggregate judgments concerning the distribution of personal wealth, inheritance patterns, literacy, and the prices and quantities of individual assets in past societies.³⁶ Although New Zealand genealogists have exploited probate materials for some years, historians in this country have been less inclined to appreciate the richness and detail of these types of sources. This reticence is understandable given that

³⁶ See, for example, Gloria L. Main, "Probate Records as a Source for Early American History", William and Mary Quarterly 32 (1975): 89-99; Gloria L. Main and Jackson T. Main, "Economic Growth and the Standard of Living in Southern New England, 1640-1774", Journal of Economic History 48 (1988): 27-46; Alice Hanson Jones, "Estimating Wealth of the Living from a Probate Sample", Journal of Interdisciplinary History 13 (1982): 273-300; Richard A. Easterlin, "Population Change and Farm Settlement in the Northern United States", Journal of Economic History 36 (1976): 45-75; Fazley K. Siddiq, "Nineteenth-Century Wealth Transfers in Nova Scotia: The Administration of Probate", Nova Scotia Historical Review 9 (1989): 35-48.

persons who made wills were seldom representative of historical populations as a whole. There is a general consensus among researchers that a great deal of underregistration and bias exists in probate records. But there is less agreement as to where that bias actually lies.³⁷ However, some effort is needed to resolve this methodological dilemma in the context of this analysis. A sensible approach would be to present data in relation to key variables such as gender, age, date of arrival in the colony and occupational rank. In this way, the place of probated individuals within the social structure can be compared to that of their non-probated counterparts.

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 present the results of this research strategy in the form of a decadal distribution of probated estates from 1876 to 1915.³⁸ Perhaps the most striking feature of this data was the pronounced difference in long term trends associated with probate activity according to gender. Altogether over one-quarter of male decedents left wills and one-third were probated, a surprisingly high number which adds weight to Donald Akenson's assertions concerning the typicality of Irish behaviour and economic

³⁷ For useful discussions of this problem see Daniel Scott Smith, "Underregistration and Bias in Probate Records: An Analysis of Data from Eighteenth-Century Hingham, Massachusetts", William and Mary Quarterly 32 (1975): 100-10; Lars Osberg and Fazley Siddiq, "The Importance of the Relatively Poor", Review of Income and Wealth 34 (1988): 143-63.

³⁸ For this analysis, I collected data from the vital records of the Registrar General of Births, Deaths and Marriages for all married Irish-born Catholics whose deaths were registered at Christchurch between the years 1876 and 1915. This sample comprised 836 persons, of whom 40.6 percent were male (N=339) and 59.4 percent female (N=497). It was linked with probate files and death duty registers.

Table 5.5 Decadal Distribution Of Probated Estates For Married Irish Catholic Males, 1876-1915

<u>Period</u>	N			%		Probates
	Decedents	Wills	Intestates	Wills	Intestates	
1876-1885	40	14	2	35.0	5.0	40.0
1886-1895	63	14	7	21.9	10.9	32.8
1896-1905	112	26	4	23.2	3.6	26.8
1906-1915	124	43	5	34.6	4.0	38.7
Totals	339	97	18	28.5	5.3	33.8

Sources: Christchurch Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages; Probate Files, CH 171, National Archives, Christchurch.

performance in the colony.³⁹ More predictably, women displayed less propensity to make wills. This experience was common for only one-tenth of female decedents, although the addition of probated intestates inflates the proportion to marginally less than one-seventh. The level of male probate activity moved fairly sympathetically with the level of mortality throughout the period under consideration, except between 1896-1905 when considerably fewer men had their estates probated. There was a substantial increase, however, in the number of women leaving wills, a momentum which was not matched by a corresponding decline in the number of intestates for whose estates Letters of Administration were granted.

This pattern is somewhat easier to establish than to explain. A plausible inference would be that the data reflects increasing economic activity on the part of women, particularly widows, and points to the breakdown of Irish matrimonial and gender constraints. For some women such as the Hotelkeeper,

³⁹ Akenson, *Half The World From Home*, pp. 65-85.

Table 5.6 Decadal Distribution Of Probated Estates For Married Irish Catholic Women, 1876-1915

<u>Period</u>	<u>N</u>			<u>%</u>		<u>Probates</u>
	<u>Decedents</u>	<u>Wills</u>	<u>Intestates</u>	<u>Wills</u>	<u>Intestates</u>	
1876-1885	81	6	4	7.4	4.9	12.3
1886-1895	86	6	4	7.0	4.7	11.6
1896-1905	187	15	6	8.0	3.2	11.2
1906-1915	143	28	7	19.6	4.9	24.5
Totals	497	55	21	11.1	4.2	15.3

Sources: All data obtained from the same sources as Table 5.5.

Margaret McAnally, to whom her husband had entrusted his estate, this was undoubtedly the case. Nevertheless, it is significant that she chose to convey the greater part of her estate to two of her three sons by Deed of Settlement prior to devising the remainder--a paltry sum of £84--to all her seven children in equal shares.⁴⁰ Similarly, Tipperary-born Julia Ryan ignored the claims of her daughters and bequeathed her landed property to her son, William, provided that he paid the interest on the mortgage she had secured for him and all rates and taxes when due. After his death the land was to revert to the executors of her will, two other sons, Michael and Patrick, "for the benefit of the children of the said William Henry Ryan during the lifetime of the said children, and also the wife of the said William Henry Ryan...as long as she remains unmarried".⁴¹

Viewed in this way, an otherwise appealing hypothesis which emphasises the increasing prominence of women during this period stumbles on textual

⁴⁰ The Will of Margaret Adelaide McAnally, 4365/1902, NA-CH; Death Index, 108/1902.

⁴¹ The Will of Julia Ryan, 8116/1914, NA-CH; Death Index, 31/1914.

Table 5.7 Probate Experience Of Married Irish Catholic Decedents, By Age, 1876-1915

<u>Age-Group</u>	<u>Males</u>			<u>Females</u>		
	Decedents	Probates	%	Decedents	Probates	%
21-29	5	1	20.0	21	0	0.0
30-39	18	5	27.8	52	7	16.7
40-49	50	16	32.0	69	4	5.8
50-59	44	20	45.5	95	18	18.9
60-69	79	34	43.0	96	26	26.8
70-79	93	25	26.9	102	13	12.7
80+	49	13	26.5	60	7	11.6
	(N=338)	(N=114)		(N=495)	(N=75)	

Notes

1. Sources: All data obtained from the same sources as Table 5.5.
2. Despite attempts at further record linkages age-group data was not available for one male and two female decedents.

evidence adduced from the wills themselves. If Irish Catholic women favoured sons over daughters in the transmission of wealth, then this explanation cannot wholly account for the increasing number of them leaving wills. Indeed, an examination of the content of these documents in the next chapter reveals greater continuity with restrictive Irish gender roles than one might have expected given the disruptive impact of migration.

In terms of age, female decedents who left wills or died intestate and had their estates administered were preponderantly older than the non-probated cohort (Table 5.7). Between the years 1876 and 1915 only 7.7 percent of those dying under fifty were probated, compared to 18.0 percent of older women, while the younger group constituted only 14.7 percent of all probates, a figure well below its proportion of mortality (28.6 percent). For men the figures are less skewed toward older decedents, although there is a noticeable

Table 5.8 Probate Experience Of Married Irish Catholic Males, By Occupational Rank, 1876-1915

Occupational Rank At Death	N		%	
	Decedents	Probates	Decedents	Probates
1	3	3	0.9	100.0
2	115	68	33.8	59.1
3	57	17	16.8	29.8
4	135	27	39.7	20.0
Unknown	29	0	8.6	0.0

Sources: All data obtained from the same sources as Table 5.5.

bulge in probate activity among those dying between fifty and sixty-nine years of age. Nearly one-third of all male decedents under fifty had their estates probated (30.1 percent), a proportion that compares favourably with that of older men (34.7 percent).

The degree of bias inherent in probate records becomes more conspicuous when the occupations of male decedents are contrasted with those of testators and probated intestates. Table 5.8 shows the probate experience of married Irish Catholic males in relation to occupational rank during this period. Clearly, there is an obvious skew toward wealth and prestige which indicates that differentials in levels of probate activity are probably attributable to the wealth of decedents rather than their age. Men engaged in more prestigious ventures such as proprietorships were far more likely to have been probated than those working in skilled occupations, who in turn enjoyed advantages over the semi-skilled and unskilled sector. This discrepancy is highlighted when the figures for individual occupations are taken into account. Probate files exist for 80.0 percent of all male hotelkeepers, for example, while

the figure of 61.5 percent for farmers, though considerably less, is still impressive. By contrast, about one-fifth of labourers and one-quarter of gardeners were probated, but their performance totally eclipsed that of individuals employed in those occupations which Michael Katz has termed "transitional"--porters, teamsters, clerks--for whom there were no probates.⁴²

Despite the fact that men higher in the social structure were more prone to have been probated, it is worth remembering that the majority of Irish Catholics had begun their careers at the bottom. The occupational configuration presented in Table 5.8 demonstrates the extent to which the immigrants had progressed within local opportunity structures, and this in turn would seem to confirm to the degree and direction of mobility described in the decadal analysis of part one of this chapter. Proprietorship, and the security it implied, appears to have been a major goal for a number of the Irish and one that was approved and even encouraged by the clergy. This position received its clearest theological exposition in Archbishop Redwood's Lenten Pastoral of 1914. "Man", Redwood argued in a statement of model orthodoxy, "has been brought into the world in order that he may develop his material, intellectual and spiritual capacities." However, he continued, "the possession of property (including capital) is a normal condition of this development. To develop according to God's designs man must own property. Hence the Catholic Church desires that as many men as possible should be proprietors: not only to secure their daily needs, but to provide their permanent possession."⁴³ Thus

⁴² Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West, pp. 145-46.

⁴³ F. Redwood, Pastoral, 15 January 1914, CDA.

the key to advancement and independence was not to be found in socialism but in land-based enterprise which would undercut the power of landlords and employers. It was a message that must have enjoyed some support among those who had followed this avenue of mobility for many years.

The evidence adduced from death certificates and probates indicates that some members of the Irish Catholic community were relatively successful in terms of social mobility as measured by occupational rank and wealth. However, the assumptions that can be made in relation to the wealth-holdings of non-probated decedents--those whose estates did not pass through the probate process--remain unclear. There would have been little incentive to circumvent the probate process by gifts *inter vivos* during this period. Indeed, the minimal duties charged on estates in the colony and the necessity for providing a clear transfer of legal title were factors which would have been positive inducements for the settlement of assets in a court of probate.

Were non-probates clustered at the bottom of the social structure? The question is a complex one and can receive only a limited reply. As Table 5.9 shows, the wealth of those men and women who made wills was not always higher over time than the amount for intestates whose estates were subject to grants of letters of administration. This is particularly evident when one considers median wealth, which is the more reliable measure of central tendency because it is less distorted by the high value of a few large estates than the mean. Between the years 1876 and 1895 intestates held a distinct advantage over testators of both sexes, an edge that they held among women until after 1906 but had lost among men a decade earlier. It would be

Table 5.9 Relative Wealth-Holding Among Married Irish Catholic Immigrants, 1876-1915

<u>Period</u>	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>	
	<u>Wills</u>	<u>Intestates</u>	<u>Wills</u>	<u>Intestates</u>
1876-1895				
Mean	£252/9/0	£464/2/1	£323/6/7	£258/4/2
Median	£235/7/8	£400/0/0	£141/11/3	£190/0/0
1896-1905				
Mean	£738/13/0	£916/5/0	£554/8/6	£379/17/5
Median	£623/4/6	£360/8/10	£250/19/6	£360/8/10
1906-1915				
Mean	£3606/5/3	£658/18/3	£1034/2/0	£311/6/9
Median	£1088/6/4	£500/0/0	£704/2/3	£300/0/0

Notes

1. Sources: All data obtained from the same sources as Table 5.5.
2. The net value of each estate has been calculated from death duty registers held at National Archives, Christchurch.

erroneous to suggest that probated intestates were representative all non-probated decedents, for a considerable number of probably had no property worth the of taking out letters of administration. However, it is clear that the relationship between the making of wills and intestacy is not necessarily a constant one. To be sure, the occupational configuration outlined above reveals that probate files are biased toward the more well-to-do. But probate files do represent a broad range of Irish Catholics located at various points in the social structure and provide valuable means to assess both their relative wealth and important elements of their experience.

An equally important finding is that, while there are more probates for Irish Catholic of both sexes who arrived in the colony prior to 1870, earlier male emigrants may not have enjoyed greater opportunities for advancement than

Table 5.10 Probate Experience Of Married Irish Catholic Decedents, By Date Of Arrival In The Colony, 1876-1915

<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Males</u>			<u>Females</u>		
	Decedents	Probates	%	Decedents	Probates	%
Before 1870	173	76	43.9	226	44	19.5
After 1870	156	36	23.1	246	30	12.2
Unlinked	10	3	-	25	2	-

Sources: Christchurch Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages; Probate Files, CH 171, National Archives, Christchurch; Passenger Indexes, Canterbury Museum Archives; Transcript of the Baptismal and Marriage Registers of The Cathedral of The Blessed Sacrament, Lyttelton and Shand's Track, Canterbury Public Library.

subsequent arrivals. As Table 5.10 shows, a total of 43.9 percent of decedents from this cohort were probated compared to about one-quarter (24.6 percent) of post-1870 arrivals, an advantage reflected among women emigrating before 1870, of whom 19.5 were probated as against 12.2 of the later group. This level of dominance, however, does not seem to have been translated into greater wealth-holding for Irish males. Although the median value of the estates of their female counterparts (£305.12s.11d.) marginally outweighed that for post-1870 immigrants (£264.11s.8½d.), this did not apply to males arriving before 1870 whose median wealth (£357.5s.) lagged behind that of the following wave (£518.17s.).⁴⁴

The most interesting implications of this data bear upon Keith Pickens's

⁴⁴ The mean value of the probates of female decedents who had arrived prior to 1870 was £662.3s., compared to £596.17s.1d. for later immigrants, while the corresponding figures for men were £1840.7s.10d. and £1572.11s.10d. This advantage owed a great deal to the existence of a small number of quite large estates in the pre-1870 cohort.

hypothesis about social mobility in nineteenth-century Canterbury. Working with the vital records of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Pickens compared two statements of occupation of men, the first on their marriage certificates and the second on their death certificates. Subsequent researchers, he predicted, were likely to confirm his finding that latecomers to Canterbury had fewer chances to rise in the social order than members of the foundational population.⁴⁵ More research is still required until this view can be modified. However, the general pattern of wealth-holding among Irish Catholic males raises the intriguing possibility that differences between early arrivals and later immigrants were not as significant as previously believed. Until such work is undertaken, it will remain uncertain whether the Irish Catholic experience is typical or merely a curious anomaly in a wider picture. Whatever the case, it is clear probate records yield valuable information about status attainment in colonial New Zealand.

Contrary to the popular image of the Catholic Irish as "dispossessed proletarians", the evidence presented above supports Gordon Darroch's assertion that local variations in the group's socio-economic circumstances need not be reduced to a single, uniform account.⁴⁶ Essentially, the Irish encounter with local opportunity structures diverged from the experience of their counterparts in many North American cities. When newcomers arrived in

⁴⁵ Keith Pickens, "Occupational Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century British Colony", *Journal of Social History* 11 (1978): 404-12.

⁴⁶ Darroch, "Half Empty or Half Full?", pp. 6-7.

Christchurch they resembled the latter in that they possessed few marketable skills. In consequence, most migrants entered the labour market as general labourers or domestic servants, work which undoubtedly connoted some improvement in status and material condition. Their paths essentially differed because Christchurch stood at the centre of a newly settled agricultural community with a low pressure of population on land supplies, a relatively buoyant labour market, and no entrenched anti-Catholic élite.⁴⁷ It held forth the possibility of real property mobility and the chance to rise to the rank of masterless petty proprietor.

Although we cannot assume an ethos of social mobility was relevant for Irish Catholics, or that they embraced the values it implied, the analysis put forward in the first part of this chapter does show a noticeable trend toward proprietorship and home-ownership. This finding appears to be supported by the occupational configuration highlighted in part two and suggests that immigrants placed a strong emphasis on attaining a sense of familial security in and around the city. While the Irish made steady progress, dramatic gains were not the norm and most remained firmly tied to familial responsibilities and obligations. The choice of emigration, therefore, may have represented a knowledgeable response to the demands of industrial capitalism. But it did not mean that newcomers relinquished crucial household attachments. In Christchurch, as in St. Louis or Boston, Irish Catholics were just as likely to

⁴⁷ Even as supplies of land dwindled by the 1890s and chances for land-owning steadily diminished, beneficent government action partially offset the situation by increasing the numbers of manual workers receiving grants of Crown land. See Scotter, pp. 106-17; 209-19.

have identified with broadly ethnic goals as with modern notions of upward mobility. A key difference in their respective experiences, however, was that colonial Canterbury provided greater opportunities for advancement while imparting a sense of continuity with an intracommunal peasant past.

CHAPTER SIX

THE TIES THAT BIND

In a moving testament prepared three days prior to her death in 1902, Catherine Stevens of Broadfield set out her last wishes for the settlement of her estate.¹ The will began rather unconventionally for the period, using direct relational terminology in describing her chosen executors and neighbours, Edward O'Rourke and Richard Cunneen, as "my friends". Stevens then moved on to dispose of her personal effects and stock: "I give my bees and beehives to the said Edward O'Rourke, Margaret Cunneen and Mary Marlina Cunneen in equal shares. I give all my household furniture and fowls to Ann Hartigan the wife of Thomas Hartigan of Broadfields aforesaid Blacksmith. I give my dog to Thomas Francis Cunneen of Broadfields aforesaid Butcher".² She instructed her executors to sell the remainder of her estate and apply the proceeds for the benefit of numerous individuals, both living and dead. She devised £40 upon

¹ The Will of Catherine Stevens, 4503/1902, NA-CH; Death Index, 583/1902; Im-CH 4/31, NA-W. Stevens, who had emigrated with her husband, Andrew, aboard the William Miles (5-5-1860), died on 18 August 1902. Her estate was valued at £879/7/3.

² Thomas Hartigan of County Tipperary arrived at Lyttelton aboard the City of Glasgow (21-3-1874), but was not joined by his wife, Ann, and their two children, Michael (6) and Kate (3), until the arrival of the Otaki on 8 February 1876. Also aboard the same ship was the family of Thomas's younger brother, Michael, and his wife Mary [Ryan]. Im-CH 4/110 and 4/149, NA-W.

Stevens was the godparent of Thomas Cunneen, born on 25 October 1868 at Shand's Track and baptised there by Father Chervier on 21 November of the same year. The child's parents, Patrick and Anne Cunneen of County Clare, had arrived aboard the Clontarf (16-3-1860). Tr.Bapt.reg SA, p. 122; Im-CH 4/29, NA-W.

her sister Mary Berry of Southland, and the butcher, Thomas Cunneen, and set aside £20 for Thomas Hartigan and Mary Jane Kennedy. A further £50 was to accrue to a niece, Kate Finlay, £25 to Kate Hartigan, £100 to Bishop Grimes, and £10 to each of her executors.

After dealing with the living, Stevens turned her thoughts toward the dead, the prospect of eternal life, and the intermediate position of "the third place".³ To ensure that her soul would not be obliged to wander long *in purgatorio igne*, she directed that £25 pounds be given to Reverend Father Richards of Shands Track for saying masses.⁴ She further instructed her executors to apply £30 for the erection of two headstones for herself and her late husband. In addition, they were to retain ten pounds for "the proper burial" of a friend, William English of Broadfields, when he died.⁵ Finally, the remainder was to be held for Father Richards, "he to celebrate two masses for the repose of the soul of Philip Ryan, late of the Parish of Loughnah in the County of Tipperary."

The will of Catherine Stevens could hardly be described as a revolutionary document. But it is noteworthy nonetheless because it expresses a final

³ Jacques Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 1-14.

⁴ Andrew Stevens died of pneumonia, aged forty, at Shand's Track on 27 August 1877. He named Catherine Stevens the sole executor and beneficiary of his estate which was worth nothing after the payment of testamentary and funeral expenses. The Will of Andrew Stevens, 127/1877, NA-CH; Death Index, 373/1877; TR 54/1877, NA-CH.

⁵ William English was born in County Tipperary and emigrated to Canterbury aboard the Chrysolite (31-7-1861), marrying Tipperary-born Honora Ryan in Christchurch on 29 November 1866. Im-CH 4/35, NA-W; Tr.Marr.reg CBS 148/1866; Death Index, 292/1901 and 1113/1907.

evaluation of the meaning she gave certain relationships in her lifetime. A full inventory of those named as beneficiaries in her testament shows that she enjoyed a wide variety of social relations with persons whom she distinguished as valuable and that we can assume displayed some degree of reciprocity toward her. Although the source is only suggestive as to the extent of these connections, it is clear that her world had a kinship dimension. Stevens mentions a sister, Mary Berry, and a niece, Kate Finlay, indicating the existence of both primary and secondary dyadic kin ties. Furthermore, her concern for the soul of Philip Ryan raises the possibility of similar ties in Ireland to which she felt a deep sense of obligation.

Beyond the realm of kinship and the set of structural relationships it implies, however, the system of social relations that Catherine Stevens enacted involved a distinctive configuration based on ethnicity. Implicit in her testament, and bound up in the solemn occasion from which it emerged, is a consciousness of membership in an ethnic group with a sense of common history and a shared culture. The executors of her estate, the attesting witnesses, and all those endowed with bequests other than Bishop Grimes were Irish Catholics, most of whom lived within close residential vicinity of the deceased. Moreover, her instructions relating to masses demonstrate the way in which the society of the living was inextricably bound to that of the dead through its ability to modify the amount of time souls spent in Purgatory. Beneath the legalistic language that intrudes upon the content of the text, then, one can detect a hint of melancholy, a subterranean influence of a culture that was authentically Irish and Catholic.

To what extent had these forms of expression and webs of interconnectedness become woven into the lives of other Irish Catholic immigrants? In this chapter, I will use testamentary evidence to explore the strength of ethnic bonding.⁶ Although wills originate from a very specific historical situation, they do allow a researcher to follow multiple lines of investigation in the area of social connectedness.⁷ To be sure, the social reality of historical communities is no longer accessible directly. Consequently, the enactment of social roles in the past can only be inferred through a set of mediating documents that freeze historical actors pursuing a singular activity at a given point. Nonetheless, empirical evidence generated by record linkages

⁶ For this purpose, I collected social data from the wills of all Irish Catholic adults dying between the years 1876 and 1915 registered at Christchurch. The resulting sample comprised a total of 178 documents of which 117 were left by men, including 21 prepared by unmarried testators, while a further 61 belonged to women, of whom only six were spinsters. Illiterates, who had few chances to leave written documents to posterity, constituted a significant minority of testators. Among males the proportion of those who were unable to provide a signature was over one-third (36.8 percent), compared to more than two-fifths of women (42.6 percent). Testators, therefore, may have represented a broader range of the social order of Irish migrant communities than letter writers whose descriptions have been the basis of several major studies. See, for example, David Fitzpatrick, "'That beloved country, that no place else resembles': connotations of Irishness in Irish-Australian letters, 1841-1915", *Irish Historical Studies* 27 (1991): 324-51.

⁷ For examples of the use of wills in historical research of this nature, see Roger T. Vann, "Wills and the Family in an English Town: Banbury, 1550-1800", *Journal of Family History* 4 (1979): 346-67; John E. Crowley, "The Importance of Kinship: Testamentary Evidence From South Carolina", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 16 (1986): 559-77; Daniel Snyder, "Kinship and Community in Rural Pennsylvania", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 13 (1982): 41-61; Trevor Burnard, "Inheritance and Independence: Women's Status in Early Colonial Jamaica", *William and Mary Quarterly* 58 (1991): 93-114.

between wills and vital events sources provides an adequate basis on which to construct a plausible interpretation of the meaning of these roles.

A primary focus of the ensuing discussion is on the nature of ethnic social relations. The findings of the eminent historian of Irish-America, Kerby Miller, suggest one avenue of inquiry. Working with a score of emigrant letters, Miller has argued that participants in the post-Famine exodus to the United States were torn in their quest for a sense of identity between the communal ideals of the Old World on the one hand, and the divergent realities of the New on the other. It was a dilemma which the Irish resolved creatively through the establishment of patterns of social interaction and institutional life that linked both past and present. While familial bonds continued to have crucial importance, the novel circumstances encountered by immigrants in America obliged reliance on a wide set of highly personal relationships based on broadly common characteristics and situations, including common regional origins, neighbourhoods, and work places. These environments not only acted as sites for ultimate assimilation, but also reinforced practical and emotional links to Ireland by replicating social networks and cultural patterns similar to those at home. Despite the ambiguities and tensions inherent in their position, Irish-Americans made a gradual transition from membership of a neighbourhood society to one based on ethnicity.⁸

It is possible to argue a plausible hypothesis from Miller's interpretation of Irish-American patterns of association. Whereas Irish Catholics would have learned early in life to distinguish between "friends" and strangers (or among

⁸ Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, pp. 520-21, 523.

relatives), the act of emigration and resettlement would have required a constant readjustment, alteration and revision of that terminology and its meaning. This process of realignment would in turn have irreparably changed the associative universe of the emigrants, which was never static, but continually expanding and contracting according to local conditions or the dictates of the life cycle and its assorted demographic variables. It makes good intuitive sense to conjecture that in Christchurch, as in North American cities, these circumstances might have promoted and reinforced personal ethnic networks. If the decision-making of testators, for example, reveals that Irish Catholics co-operated more with one another than with outsiders, then the totality of socially used links surely indicates the existence of group social behaviour along ethnic lines. Conversely, where shallow sets of ethnic ties are found then the hypothesis must be rejected on the grounds that conditions in the city were not conducive to the development of ethnic consciousness.

The analysis of ethnic bonding need not close off other lines of investigation which can be pursued simultaneously. In particular, testamentary evidence is useful in explicating the meaning of a range of structural relationships such as that between kinfolk, or within the conjugal family, where clues to the position of women in Irish-New Zealand families are embedded. It would be foolish to ignore the fact that historical actors played multiple social roles during their lives, much as Catherine Stevens would have done--as wife, aunt, sister, godmother, communicant and so on. To do justice to the depth and complexity of the immigrant experience each must be included for consideration. Indeed, these additional structural elements may tell us a great

deal more about the survival of aspects of transposed cultural resources than hitherto suspected. Whatever the case, it ensures that the context of our discussion is considerably enlarged. My objective, therefore, is not simply to establish whether the relationship between a testator and the beneficiaries of a will was ethnic in character. It is also to ask whether kinship for Irish Catholic immigrants implied only the conjugal family unit or whether it entailed recognition of a wider range of kin. What did it mean to be a spouse, uncle, sibling or other in-law in an ethno-religious collectivity of this type? Did Irish husbands entrust their wives with considerable powers of management over the disposal of their estates? What constructions can we place upon the ways in which people within this community structured their social world?

One of the most difficult tasks facing a person making a will was the choice of suitable executors who could be relied upon to administer their estate and carry out the wishes expressed in their testament. The final resolution of this question in favour of certain named individuals clearly implies that a testator trusted those selected. On the other hand, a lack of recognition given to other persons whom one might have expected to have been entrusted with this duty suggests that they were thought less capable of managing the deceased's worldly affairs.

This last point has special significance in relation to married Irish Catholic males, many of whom were unwilling to appoint their widows as executors of their estates (Table 6.1). Of seventy-six men who died between 1876 and 1915, 39.5 percent considered their wives sufficiently imbued with the requisite

Table 6.1 Executors Named In The Wills Of Married Irish Catholic Males, 1876-1915

<u>Executors</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Wife Alone	30	39.5
Wife and Kin	7	9.2
Wife and Other	7	9.2
Wife Excluded	32	42.1
Totals	76	100.0

Notes.

1. Sources: Christchurch Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages; Probate Files, CH 171, National Archives, Christchurch.
2. The number of cases where non-kin were joined with the widows of testators in exercising the duty of executorship have been placed in the category, "Wife and Other". It is significant that in all of these instances the persons appointed were Catholics.

qualities to enable them to settle their affairs. Among this group poorer, childless testators such as the labourers Lawrence McMahon and Michael Joseph Ryan,⁹ displayed a greater propensity to repose unfettered management powers in their widows.¹⁰ Some testators created joint executorships whereby wives were named alongside other individuals, a preference that favoured both kin and Catholic non-kin equally. Tipperary-born Patrick O'Neill of Camside, for example, designated his friends Michael Lynskey and John Daley

⁹ The Will of Lawrence McMahon, 10293/1919, NA-CH; Death Index, 751/1915.

Michael Joseph Ryan was born in County Tipperary and arrived at Lyttelton aboard the David G. Fleming in 1863. The Will of Michael J. Ryan, 6131/1907, NA-CH; Death Index, 992/1907; Im-CH 4/53, NA-W.

¹⁰ Altogether 53.8 percent of childless testators entrusted their wives with sole powers of management of their estate, while 30.8 percent excluded them entirely. Whilst the small number of testators of this type (N = 13) means that we must treat these results with a degree of scepticism, they do match patterns revealed in other studies. See, for example, Burnard, Table 3, p. 102.

as trustees of his estate together with his wife, Catherine,¹¹ while a railway ganger, James Doherty, bestowed the responsibility upon his spouse and his only son jointly.¹²

An unusually large proportion of testators chose to exclude their wives from the role altogether (42.1 percent), indicating that these men had a little confidence in the business acumen of their partners. Of these wills 34.3 percent named Irish Catholic friends as sole executors, 40.6 appointed kinfolk and 9.4 expressed a preference for a combination of the two categories. A further 9.4 percent named non-Irish Catholics as executors, a decision which represented a limited widening of the ethnic domain to include outsiders of the same religious persuasion.¹³ Only a single testament, that of the ex-policeman Daniel Flanagan, appointed a non-Catholic executorship and in this case both of

¹¹ Patrick O'Neill, who had arrived in Canterbury aboard the Accrington (5-9-1863), married Catherine McDrury of County Roscommon in Rangiora after the death of his first wife, Mary McDermott. The Will of Patrick O'Neill, 4592/1902, NA-CH; Death Index, 777/1902; Im-CH 4/50, NA-W. Michael Lynskey was born in Hollymount, County Mayo, and died in Kaiapoi in 1917, while the Irish draper, Michael Daley, subsequently emigrated to the United States, dying in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, on 3 December 1928.

¹² The Will of James Doherty, 8846/1915, NA-CH; Death Index, 494/1915.

¹³ Patrick Donnelly of County Tyrone, for example, named the English furniture dealer, Alfred Joseph White, and the German bootmaker, Daniel Steinmetz, as joint trustees of his estate. They were instructed not to sell his house and property at St. Asaph Street without the written consent of his second wife, Catherine Canavan, who was entitled to occupation rent free until her decease or subsequent remarriage, when the estate would revert to all his children in equal shares. The Will of Patrick Donnelly, 1668/1888 NA-CH; Death Index, 593/1888; Birth Index, 1715/1878, 1603/1881, 1125/1883, 999/1885, and 391/1888.

the men named renounced the role, compelling his widow, Anastasia, to apply for a grant of letters of administration to his estate.¹⁴

Unfortunately very few married women who were survived by a husband left wills to posterity, but for those who did there appears to have been little inducement to name spouses as trustees. Altogether only one-quarter of female testators chose to entrust their estates with their husbands alone (26.3 percent), whereas a majority elected to exclude them entirely from this role (57.9 percent). Significantly, the subsequent choices of this latter group reflected that of married men in their preference for either kinfolk or Catholic friends. Alice Leonard, for example, appointed her brother Christopher O'Neill of Makikihi to settle her affairs,¹⁵ while Jane Broad named local storekeeper and commission agent, Michael Dineen, as the sole executor of her estate.¹⁶ Although the number of existing testaments is not large enough to permit more than tentative conclusions being drawn, the choices of these women raises the intriguing possibility that the lack of confidence expressed by Irish Catholic husbands in the ability of their wives to manage their estates was more than reciprocated toward male spouses by Irish wives. Some support for this view can be gleaned from the disposition of property by married women, a subject that will be dealt with later in this chapter.

The executorships created by single and widowed adults are of a very different nature from those listed above because the opportunity to name a

¹⁴ The Will of Daniel Flanagan, 4726/1903, NA-CH; Death Index, 801/1902.

¹⁵ The Will of Alice Leonard, 5762/1906, NA-CH; Death Index, 767/1906.

¹⁶ The Will of Jane Broad, 6779/1909, NA-CH; Death Index, 730/1909.

Table 6.2 Executors Named In The Wills Of Single and Widowed Irish Catholic Testators By Percent, 1876-1915

Testators	Kin Alone	Irish Non-kin	Irish and Kin	Other Catholic	Non- Catholic
Widowers (N=18)	72.2	16.7	11.1	0.0	0.0
Single Men (N=20)	15.0	65.0	5.0	15.0	5.0
Widows (N=34)	64.7	17.6	11.8	5.9	0.0
Single Women (N=6)	50.0	33.3	0.0	16.7	0.0
Totals (N=78)	52.6	30.8	9.0	6.4	1.3

Notes.

1. Sources: All data obtained from the same sources as Table 6.1.
2. The residual category entitled "Other Catholic" includes cases where non-Irish Catholics were named jointly with kin or Irish Catholics, or where the latter were appointed alongside non-Catholics.

spouse has been foreclosed. Nonetheless, their testamentary choices reflect a similar reliance on social ties within the ethnic community. Table 6.2 reports the various types of executors named in the wills of these groups of persons. Testators who were widows or widowers frequently called upon kin to act as trustees, a tendency that was not expected given the wider context of their kinship domain. In most cases these executors were members of the testators's immediate family, usually but not exclusively males, and often co-resident with the deceased. Catherine Owens, for instance, who had emigrated to Canterbury aboard the *Northampton* in 1874, appointed her youngest son, Thomas, with whom she was residing in Horatio Street, as sole trustee of her

estate.¹⁷ Catherine Burrows, on the other hand, was resident with her daughter, Mary, in Opawa at the time of her death but chose her son, Samuel, as executor.¹⁸ In a small number of testaments secondary kinship ties were actively engaged, as was the case in the will of William Shea which gave the role to a son-in-law,¹⁹ and Margaret Bruns, who named a nephew, Thomas Sheehan.²⁰ A far greater reliance was placed upon Irish Catholic non-kin than relatives whose consanguinity extended beyond the primary variety. Some 17.6 percent of widows and 16.7 of widowers named Irish Catholic friends as executors, a level of recognition which is heightened when one considers that an additional one-tenth of the appointments of both groups featured the latter in joint partnership with kinfolk.²¹

Kinship ties were also an extremely important influence in shaping the ways that single adults designated their executors. However, there was a clear tendency to use ethnic networks where necessary, especially among single men. When Terence McHugh of Conougher, County Galway, prepared his will

¹⁷ The Will of Catherine Owens, 8337/1914, NA-CH; Death Index, 648/1914.

¹⁸ The Will of Catherine Burrows, 7643/1912, NA-CH; The Will of Samuel Burrows, 5833/1907, NA-CH; Death Index, 410/1912 and 182/1907.

¹⁹ The Will of William Shea, 7177/1911, NA-CH; Death Index, 23/1911.

²⁰ The Will of Margaret Bruns, 8654/1915, NA-CH; Death Index, 507/1915.

²¹ See, for example, The Will of Margaret Donnelly, 3896/1900, NA-CH; Death Index, 463/1885 and 191/1900; Birth Index, 441/1877. Margaret Harvey married Hugh Donnelly in Berragh, County Tyrone, on 18 September 1870. Tragically, Hugh died intestate in 1885, leaving behind a large family for Margaret to nurture. Prior to her own death in 1900 she prepared a will in which she named her son, Edward, and a friend, John Glackin, as executors.

in Timaru in 1904 he named a priest, Father John Tubman, as did a labourer, Patrick McGrath, who named Father Michael O'Boyle as his sole trustee.²² Neighbours were also likely to be called upon to assume this responsibility, a pattern reflected in the wills of John Reilly, Michael Burns and Jeremiah Hogan.²³ Others, such as John Robble O'Brien and James Lawlor, chose Irishmen with whom they appear to have been well acquainted,²⁴ while Patrick Lynch named his brother, Owen, and two Irish Catholic farmers, Hugh Gillon and Patrick Brown, to settle his affairs.²⁵ Overall, the data for single adults confirms the general impression of the wills of their married counterparts in their consistent proclivity for the construction of boundaries beyond which few social relations were extended. Rather than indicating a dearth of kinship obligations or weak associational bonding, this evidence is strongly suggestive of exclusive networks of mutuality that were based upon ethnic and kinship ties.

The overriding concern of those who left wills was undoubtedly the final disposition of their worldly property. This decision required a testator to balance a number of competing interests. Married men, for example, had not

²² The Will of Terence McHugh, 7229/1911, NA-CH; Death Index, 122/1911; The Will of Patrick McGrath, 7849/1913, NA-CH; Death Index, 96/1913.

²³ The Will of John Reilly, 7745/1912, NA-CH; Death Index, 699/1912; The Will of Michael Burns, 4268/1901, NA-CH; Death Index, 289/1901; The Will of Jeremiah Hogan, 3945/1900, NA-CH; Death Index, 193/1900.

²⁴ The Will of John Robble O'Brien, 4430/1902, NA-CH; Death Index, 360/1902; The Will of James Casson Lawlor, 2949/1895, NA-CH; Death Index, 476/1895.

²⁵ The Will of Patrick John Lynch, 2334/1892, NA-CH; Death Index, 512/1892.

only to consider the future welfare of their wives in their testamentary activities, but also that of their children. They had to choose between entrusting their spouses with complete powers of disposal over their estate, or, while providing for their security, curtailing their economic authority so as to prevent them from alienating the trust property. In the same way, they needed to determine whether they should divest bequests made in favour of their wives upon their remarriage. Such preliminary questions, if applicable, were no doubt followed by careful deliberation over the size of the shares to be given to each of the surviving children, whether the residue of the estate should be devised upon sons, and what provision to make for unmarried daughters.

The testamentary priorities of childless, unmarried, and widowed decedents varied quite considerably from their married counterparts in the disposition of property and in relations with those who had legitimate claims on their estates. While questions relating to the inheritance of children were still relevant for most widowed testators, this was usually not so for single adults who were able to enact different bequesting practices. The latter group did not have the same concerns as married and widowed testators and sometimes found it easier to leave a few pounds aside for masses. It is clear, therefore, each of these conditions is unique and analyzable separately. The most sensible approach would be to ascertain the specific type of inheritance patterns revealed by disposition of the residue, moving thereafter to a discussion of the extension of bequests beyond the immediate family.

The wills of married men and widowers demonstrated a wide variety of methods for dealing with the transmission of residual property. A majority of

testators expressed a preference for impartible inheritance (58.3 percent), much as they would have done in Ireland. A considerably smaller proportion chose to divide their property equally (18.8 percent), while the remainder (22.9 percent) elected to establish some form of joint partnership where at least one child was excluded from a share in the estate. Overall, the testaments failed to demonstrate any clear bias in the direction of either ultimogeniture or primogeniture, but a significant minority favoured sons over daughters in the division of property (40.0 percent).

The testaments of married men with surviving spouses disclosed a distinctive mode of inheritance. Just as these testators had been reluctant to appoint their partners as executors of their estates, so too were they unwilling to grant extensive powers of disposal over their property to their wives. This reticence was reflected in the fact that 37.2 percent of male testators transferred the residuary interest in their estates to their spouses absolutely, an abysmally low figure which reveals a great deal about prevailing attitudes toward female economic independence. Interestingly, both men without children (61.5 percent) and those employed in blue collar occupations (54.8 percent) were more likely to entrust their wives with unfettered control of their property than proprietors (22.6 percent). Farmers were particularly disinclined to settle their property in this manner and it was uncommon for their wills to give absolute disposing power over an estate to a spouse (20.6 percent).

The majority of married men sought to restrict the control of wives over their property and employed several testamentary devices to enable them to do so. Of these methods the creation of a life-interest (37.2 percent) was clearly

the most popular strategy. The will of Francis McCleary of Dunsandel is a splendid example of this form of disposition and noteworthy for the manner in which it favours a male heir over the claims of daughters. McCleary, a farmer, named his only son, James, and a friend, Patrick McCartin of Southbridge, as the joint executors of his estate. He instructed that his wife be allowed to use the farm and its stock for her benefit during her lifetime and after her death the property, together with the stock, crop, and all other belongings was to repose in his son "provided that he pays £100 (one hundred pounds) to each of his sisters Elizabeth, Mary and Ellen." Perhaps suspecting his son might be unenthusiastic about parting with hard cash and refuse to carry out the arrangement, McCleary instructed that the land was to be sold and the proceeds divided into six parts: "three sixths I bequeath to my son James, and one sixth to each of my daughters aforementioned".²⁶ Similarly, Daniel McVeigh of Shands Track bequeathed all his estate to his wife, Rose, for life, as well as a sum of £250 owed to him by his second son, James, which he now instructed him to pay to his mother. After her death the estate was to pass to McVeigh's eldest son, Daniel, who was to pay the sum of £100 to his younger brother provided he had repaid this outstanding debt. Furthermore, McVeigh stipulated, he "shall also pay to my three daughters Rose, Margaret and Catherine, five pounds (£5.0.0) each; to my daughter Mary, fifteen pounds (£15.0.0) and to

²⁶ The Will of Francis McCleary, 5235/1905, NA-CH; Death Index, 121/1905.

the two other daughters, Elizabeth and Sarah, twenty pounds (£20.0.0) each."²⁷

Annuities were another testamentary device favoured by married men, but these required some form of fixed capital to establish successfully. Michael Power of Ohoka, for instance, elected this option for the benefit of his wife, Mary, after which the residuary interest was to be divided between five of his sons.²⁸ Timothy Slattery, on the other hand, instructed that the residue of his estate was to be divided into four portions immediately following his own death, three of which were to go equally to his sons, while one was to be invested and the interest used for the maintenance of his wife, Johanna, during her lifetime.²⁹

There was always a danger that the amount a testator left aside for his spouse would be wholly insufficient to meet her daily needs. Such was the case for Alice Tobin whose husband, James, left her an annuity of £65 to be paid in quarterly instalments. Afflicted with rheumatism and other maladies, Tobin could do little toward her own support. In consequence, she was forced to lodge a petition for relief in the Supreme Court. Tobin maintained that at the time of her marriage she possessed a sum of £100 which she gave to her

²⁷ The Will of Daniel McVeigh, 2114/1891, NA-CH; Death Index, 250/1891. McVeigh named Michael Francis Ryan, farmer, of Broadfields and James Doherty, labourer, of Lincoln as the executors of his estate.

²⁸ Power, of County Waterford, was accompanied by his wife, Mary [Nolan], and their infant son, John, on the voyage out aboard the Sebastopol in 1861. The Will of Michael Power, 2226/1892 NA; Chch.Rg.Deaths 65/1892; Im-CH 4/36, NA-W.

²⁹ The Will of Timothy Slattery, 7891/1913, NA-CH; Death Index, 223/1913.

spouse "for the purpose of his farming operations and for [the] purchase of land". By contrast, James Tobin only held property to the value of £10. Moreover, she claimed to have lived with her husband continuously, except during his brief confinement in the Sunnyside Asylum, and had "assisted in the making of the property of which he died possessed".³⁰ While the circumstances surrounding this case were unique, the testimony of Alice Tobin reminds us of the unpaid contribution that Irish wives made to their families and underlines the extent to which testamentary dispositions sometimes gave minimal recognition to their efforts.

The wills of the remaining testators set out various mechanisms to deal with the claims of widows. In a lengthy document, Laurence Kirwan bestowed an outright gift of £1000 on his third wife, Elizabeth, and granted her the use of a property situated at Montreal Street.³¹ The will of John Kelly was rather more ambiguous. After devising all his land to his eldest son, John, he granted forty acres to the latter's younger sibling, Connor. However, this bequest was subject to his mother having the use of the same until he turned twenty-one "until which time he cannot bring any one on the property without her consent." Kelly expressed a desire that his three children should live together with their mother "should it be agreeable to them to do so". But he stipulated that if at the age of twenty-one Connor instructed his mother and sister to

³⁰ The Will of James Tobin, 4611/1902, NA-CH; Death Index, 863/1902. Mr. Justice Denniston raised the level of her annuity to £90 per annum in accordance with a recommendation by the secretary of the Charitable Aid Board, Thomas Norris.

³¹ The Will of Laurence Kirwan, 6887/1910, NA-CH; Death Index, 136/1910.

leave, or they chose to do so of their own accord, then "he shall give to each the sum of twenty pounds sterling."³² One testator, a bootmaker, Michael Mahoney, failed to even mention his wife in his testamentary provisions,³³ while the obligation of John Fay's surviving children to his widow was merely implicit in the text.³⁴

A small but significant minority of married men attempted to exert some control over their wives' re-marriage from beyond the grave through the divestment or reduction of their share in the residue of their estate. Austin Tarpey, for example, granted his wife, Sarah, an annuity from his estate "so long as she shall continue my widow" and stipulated that she was to have no power to anticipate or alienate his property.³⁵ Similarly, the residuary interest of Ellen Roach in the estate of her husband, Thomas, and the role as joint guardian of the couple's child was contingent upon her remaining a widow.³⁶

³² The Will of John Kelly, 247/1878, NA-CH; Death Index, 479/1878.

³³ The Will of Michael Mahoney, 1369/1887, NA-CH; Death Index, 70/1887; Birth Index, 189/1878 and 1446/1881.

³⁴ John Fay appointed his wife, Anne Doyle, and two of his sons, James and Joseph Michael, as trustees and executors of his estate from which they were to take all his household furniture and effects and divide them among themselves. He bequeathed the sum of £500 to his only daughter, Mary Ann, on attaining twenty-four years of age, and a lesser sum of £150 to his son Patrick. All his "various properties" were to be divided among his other three sons, James, Joseph Michael and Anthony, while a friend, Peter McEvedy of Southbridge, was to fulfil a role as "advisor" of his estate. The Will of John Fay, 3248/1897 NA; Chch.Rg.Deaths 204/1897.

³⁵ When the designated executors, Alfred Joseph White and Andrew Loughnan, renounced their role, Sarah Tarpey was compelled to apply for a grant of letters of administration to the estate of her late husband. The Will of Austin Tarpey, 732/1882; Chch.Rg.Deaths 391/1881.

³⁶ The Will of Thomas Roach, 3548/1898, NA-CH; Death Index, 442/1898.

In an interesting provision, common to a number of wills, Roach's testament stated that the residuary share would revert to his daughter, Margaret, at the age of twenty-one years, but if she married "for her sole and separate use and at all times freed from marital control".³⁷ This type of testamentary disposition is more consistent with those specifying restrictions on remarriage than it might at first seem, for it represented a means to prevent male non-kin linked conjugally to surviving female kinfolk intermeddling with the family estate. In seeking to protect their property by methods that severely limited the authority of their wives, these men sometimes exercised their patriarchal authority in such a way as to extend greater powers of management to their daughters.

The pattern of inheritance disclosed by the testamentary preferences of married and widowed men is inconsistent with interpretations that equate the decision to emigrate with a willingness to depart from traditional expectations. Clearly, the social roles enacted by many first generation immigrant women were as likely to have remained restrictive in the colony, for the wills of their husbands effectively denied them a controlling interest in property to which they had made a substantial contribution. Nonetheless, Irish wives were unwilling to submit entirely to the domination of their husbands. Only one-fifth (20.0 percent) of married women entrusted their property to their spouses absolutely, a figure that is consistent with their reluctance to name husbands as executors of their estates. While it is difficult to determine the precise

³⁷ Ibid.; Roach's testament further stipulated that should Margaret die without leaving heirs then the residuary share was to go to his grand-daughter, Mary Margaret Wilson of New South Wales, "free from marital control".

Table 6.3 Extension Of Bequests Beyond Primary Kinship Ties, 1876-1915

<u>Testators</u>	To Nephews and Nieces	To Other Kinfolk	To Friends	To Church
Married men	6.4	3.8	2.6	10.3
Widowers	5.6	0.0	16.6	22.2
Single Men	22.7	9.1	27.3	50.0
Married women	10.0	15.0	5.0	40.0
Widows	8.6	8.6	5.7	20.0
Single Women	16.6	16.6	16.6	66.6
Totals	9.5	6.7	8.4	23.5

Sources: All data obtained from the same sources as Table 6.1.

significance of this state of affairs, it does seem to indicate the reaffirmation of lineal family values. Such evidence also discloses unresolved marital conflicts and demands a rather pessimistic assessment of the situation in which married Irish female immigrants found themselves. By choosing marriage and all that it entailed, they also chose a tradition which made their own material interests secondary. It was one that possibly guaranteed economic security, but not an equitable exercise of economic authority. In their own testaments, married women expressed resistance toward the patriarchal authority of their husbands. But ironically, many strengthened the hold of patriarchy over a future generation of women through favouring sons over daughters in assigning the residuary interest of their estates (47.8 percent).

The gender and marital status of Irish Catholic testators had a decisive bearing on the frequency with which they recognised individuals and structures outside their own household (Table 6.3). In general, women willed bequests to distant kinfolk with greater frequency than men and expressed their religiosity

more resolutely in terms of their testamentary dispositions. Susan O'Boyle of County Antrim, for example, combined both of these concerns in the provisions of her will. She devised all her land and personal effects upon a favoured niece, Susan Morgan, and instructed her executor, Patrick O'Connor, to charge the remainder of her estate with a series of endowments. He was first to apply £60 for the erection of two headstones and railings for O'Boyle and her late husband, Francis, at Leeston, and to use a further £20 to secure the same for her late brother, Alexander McCloy. After £30 had been expended for the purpose of procuring masses for the repose of her soul, £100 each were to accrue to her sister Sarah Morgan and niece, Elizabeth Morgan, both of Ireland. An additional £150 was set aside for two nephews and three other nieces from the same family.³⁸ She devised lesser sums upon her sister-in-law, Margaret McCloy (£90), the wife of her late brother, and their three children (£90 each), her niece, Ann Probyn (£90), and another sister, Jane Willis (£50).³⁹

The will of a Galway-born widow, Mary Walsh, was less typical. Her testament generously bequeathed proceeds of the sale of her properties situated in Essex and Clothier Streets to the Mother Superior of the Mission sisters and stipulated that her clothing be distributed among the poor.⁴⁰ By contrast, Alice Leonard instructed the executor of her estate to sell her freehold property at Barbadoes Street and divide the proceeds equally between the parish priests

³⁸ These were John, Daniel, Jane, Catherine, and Sarah Morgan.

³⁹ The Will of Susan O'Boyle, 7690/1912, NA-CH; Death Index, 554/1912. O'Boyle's niece, Susan Morgan, was the recipient of the residue of her estate.

⁴⁰ The Will of Mary Walsh, 6863/1910, NA-CH; Death Index, 128/1910.

of St. Mary's, Manchester Street, and the Church of the Blessed Sacrament.⁴¹

A far more common testamentary pattern, revealed in the wills of Mary Molloy, Margaret Gregan and Margaret O'Keefe, was to consign small amounts of cash for the saying of masses while at the same time acknowledging only primary kin ties.⁴²

Married men were under a legal obligation to provide for their wives and children and had fewer funds with which to will bequests to the church. Nonetheless, their recognition of secondary kinfolk surpassed that of widowers. For both groups, wealth appears to have been an important factor in determining the extent to which they were able to spread their endowments widely. Although wealth cannot wholly explain testamentary decision making given that many of the affluent endowed only their immediate families, few poorer testators were able to set aside a few pounds for religious purposes or distant kinfolk. However, the wills of well-to-do testators are worthy of consideration for they illustrate the magnitude of the Irish diaspora and the way that social ties linked Irish communities at home to those in different parts of the world. Patrick Callaghan, for example, instructed his executors to pay legacies to his brother James Callaghan of Adelaide, South Australia, and his nephew, Patrick, of Farmington, Dakato County, Minnesota,⁴³ while James

⁴¹ The Will of Alice Leonard, 5762/1906, NA-CH; Death Index, 767/1906.

⁴² The Will of Mary Molloy, 6876/1910, NA-CH; Death Index, 785/1909; The Will of Margaret Gregan, 7452/1911, NA-CH; Death Index, 275/1911; The Will of Margaret O'Keefe, 7804/1913, NA-CH; Death Index, 977/1912.

⁴³ The Will of Patrick Callaghan, 6027/1907, NA-CH; Death Index, 716/1907. Callaghan was particularly generous in terms of his religious dispositions, willing a freehold property in Lavaud Street, Akaroa, to Bishop

Condon bequeathed annuities of £7 per annum and funeral expenses of £10 to his brother, William, and his cousin, James Sexton, of Cashel, County Tipperary.⁴⁴ A retired tailor and widower, Michael Nolan, stipulated that one of his properties situated at Gloucester Street was to be sold and the proceeds invested from which an annual income was to be paid to his late wife's niece, Marianna Nolan, of Kilcool in County Wicklow, for life. A sum of £300 was to accrue to his brother's widow, Mrs. Margaret Nolan, of New York, and a further amount of £100 was to be granted to his grand-niece, Bella Garvey, who was residing with her. Finally, Nolan bequeathed £100 each to Marianna Nolan and Angelina O'Connell of New Jersey, his sister's grandchild, expressing the hope that all those whom he had remembered in his will might "sometimes think of [him] in their prayers".⁴⁵

Perhaps the most striking evidence relating to Irish Catholic social ties is to be found in the wills of single men. Antrim-born Charles Campbell, for example, named his friends Patrick McCartin and William Holley as trustees and executors of his estate, continuing an administrative role they had performed without charge for one year prior to his death. Campbell instructed them to sell

Grimes for the occupation of the Sisters of Mercy and then for the Roman Catholic church at Akaroa.

⁴⁴ The Will of John Condon, 5433/1905, NA-CH; Death Index, 672/1905.

⁴⁵ Nolan, born in Rathkeale, County Limerick, bequeathed his property at Armagh Street to the Sisters of Nazareth in aid of their funds, while the proceeds of the sale of one of his two properties in Gloucester Street was to be divided between the conferences of the St. Vincent de Paul Society attached to the parishes of St. Mary's and Christchurch. A sum of £50 was to be paid to the Bishop to procure the Holy Sacrifice, while £300 was to be applied toward the Cathedral fund. The Will of Michael Nolan, 8480/1915, NA-CH; Death Index, 1001/1914.

his estate and remit the sum of £1500 to his brother, John Campbell, and a sum of £800 to his sister, Nancy McAlister, both of whom were resident in Barrahooley, County Antrim. In his religious dispositions, he willed £200 to Reverend Father Mahony to procure masses and the same amount to the parish priest of Cushendall, County Antrim. A further £600 was set aside to be used by the Southbridge Roman Catholic Church for parochial purposes. His executors were to invest the residue of his capital and provide annuities to his brother and sister, after which they were to dispose of the remainder "to some good works".⁴⁶

Michael Herlihy, of County Cork, farmed a leasehold property near Culverden before his death in 1913. He granted comparably extensive powers to his executors, Alfred John O'Malley and James Butler, whom he desired "should have the same powers and privileges vested in them in carrying out the power and provisions herein as if I were alive and able to carry out the same." Herlihy stipulated that they were to grant a sum of £200 to his brother, Thomas, of Meckflough, County Cork, but if he should predecease him then the bequest was to revert to his children at twenty-one years in equal shares. Sums of £20 were to be divided among the nurses attending him at Christchurch Hospital, and between Bishop Grimes and those clergy who had

⁴⁶ In fact, the residuary interest in the estate of Charles Campbell was settled in a deed made on 22 April 1909, whereby John Campbell and Nancy McAlister were to take the sum of £500 each, while the executors were to pay to the grandchildren of his deceased sister, Mrs. McGarrel, £100 each as all were "in poor circumstances." The residue of the residuary estate was to be placed in the hands of the executors and Reverend Father Hills of Leeston and was to be distributed by them among a number of charities including Nazareth House, the Mt. Magdala Asylum and the Home of Compassion, Wellington. The Will of Charles Campbell, 6046/1907, NA-CH; Death Index, 801/1907.

been kind to him, while his executors were to expend £50 for erecting and maintaining a tombstone and to take £20 each for their efforts. The residue of his estate was devised upon his father, Patrick, his brother Denis, of Williamstown, County Cork, and his sister, Mary Leahy, of County Kerry, in equal shares.⁴⁷

Jeremiah Hogan, who succumbed to pneumonia after a fall from a dray in 1900, willed £50 each to his cousins and tenant farmers, John Hogan of Ballyshedy, and Daniel Hogan of Ardavalle, County Tipperary. A sum of £6 was to be applied for the benefit of Thomas Hogan, the brother of Daniel, and further amounts of £10 were to be given "to any God-child of Florence Riordan daughter of Thomas Riordan", one his executors, and "to Annie Burgin fourth daughter of Martin Burgin of Southbridge." Hogan directed that his body be buried at the Southbridge cemetery, and devised the residuary interest in his estate upon John Quin, a tenant farmer resident in Shronell, County Tipperary.⁴⁸ Peter Broderick of Sefton bequeathed his watch, saddle, bridle and breastplate to his nephew, Thomas Higgins, and set aside the residue of his estate for his sister, Bridget, instructing her to send "what reasonable portion she may think proper to my father Mr. Hugh Brodrick in the parish of Annaughdowne County Galway".⁴⁹ By contrast, a horse-trainer, Lawrence Markey, bequeathed "the horses known as Glenapp, Remember, Repent,

⁴⁷ The Will of Michael Herlihy, 7977/1913, NA-CH; Death Index, 523/1913.

⁴⁸ The Will of Jeremiah Hogan, 3945/1900, NA-CH; Death Index, 193/1900.

⁴⁹ The Will of Peter Broderick, 69/1876 NA-CH; Death Index, 489/1876.

Respond and [a] bay filly by Singlestick 2 out of Remorse", as well as all his books and personal effects to his brother, John, of Tasmania, while he endowed the remainder of his horses to an Irish Catholic friend, James Cogan of Waddington.⁵⁰

The inheritance practices of Irish Catholic immigrants were contingent upon numerous factors such as marital status, occupation, gender and wealth-holding. Not surprisingly, few testators expressed their motives for the bequest of property and the appointment of executors. Nonetheless, their wills are an invaluable historical source which constitutes one view of the system of social relations enacted by the group in and around the city. Indeed, the reliance of most testators on friends and kin outside their immediate families indicates that individual and familial well-being depended on a wider social network based on ethnicity. It was this pattern of will-making that held true regardless of a person's social status or familial obligations.

In terms of its frame of reference the testamentary evidence discloses an emotional colouration that is distinctly Irish Catholic. Rather than eschewing a traditional world-view with all its complexities and various emphases the immigrants, it seems, held firm to traditional allegiances and categories of thought in their construction and interpretation of new realities. To be sure, the environment in which they had chosen to live was not Connemara or Ballyshannon, but this did not mean that expected obligations were forgotten or

⁵⁰ The Will of Laurence Markey, 7323/1911, NA-CH; Death Index, 352/1911.

superseded in the process of migration. Although the ties that bound the immigrants to the past and to one another inevitably expanded in the colony, patterns of association catalysed by this realignment were invariably narrow and seldom extended beyond the confines of ethnicity. Sibling solidarity remained unshakeable, even where time and distance conspired to prevent the enjoyment of continuous, intimate relations, while the recognition of distant kinfolk in a significant minority of testaments attested to the existence of more far-reaching kinship ties. Despite elements of continuity, however, the novel circumstances which the immigrants encountered in Canterbury promoted a reliance on ethnic networks and newly established patterns of social interaction that were based upon a perception of somehow being different and separate from the society of their adopted land. In a manner similar to their counterparts in many North American cities, Christchurch's Irish Catholics defined themselves as members of an ethnic community in which the terms "Irish" and "Catholic" were virtually synonymous.

CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this study was to explore the historical processes of *becoming* in the everyday social lives of Irish Catholic immigrants in nineteenth-century Christchurch. My central argument has been that newcomers effected a transition to colonial life by creating and sustaining durable social networks based on ethnic ties which transcended pre-existing affiliations and represented a powerful means to domesticate a new environment. In structuring their personal life-worlds in the city and its environs, immigrants imaginatively blended traditional ideas and outlooks with the demands of modernity and infused unfamiliar surroundings with some degree of meaning and coherence.

The ethnicization of personal identities, social relations, and institutional networks bound Irish immigrants together in a tangled web of collective mutuality. It not only strengthened immigrant dependence on kinfolk and community, but fostered an increasing level of institutional completeness centred around the activities of the parish church. The expansion of a more formal organizational structure, in turn, enhanced the cohesiveness of these interpenetrative interpersonal networks by keeping immigrant social relations within the boundaries of an emergent ethnic community. Ethnicity, from this perspective, was a strategic option appropriated, sustained and pressed into service in the interests of realising a multiplicity of socio-economic goals and expectations. And, it was during the course of this performance that Irish Catholics acquired the institutional forms and meanings that set them apart from the wider community.

My claim is that the formation of ethnic consciousness among Irish Catholics in Christchurch was a complex phenomenon shaped by the constantly evolving interaction of Old World forms, cultures and expressive symbols with colonial social settings. After moving from one place to another, migrants needed to re-establish networks of personal affiliation, a project that entailed a choice between the people that they left and those that they met. There was nothing inevitable about the outcome of this process. Pre-migration classifications belonged to the situation at the point of origin, not the destination, and newcomers did not simply transport a collective identity across the oceans in their cultural baggage.¹ Rather, their self-definition, at first, reflected regional and village loyalties, kinship ties, or even shared ship-board experiences. Which of these attachments they chose to pursue, and what meaning they gave to other affiliations, depended partly upon the interaction of various elements of the immigrant group, and partly upon the impact of a colonial setting on their thought and behaviour.

As they coped with and adapted to far-reaching social and economic changes wrought by world capitalism, prospective immigrants utilized the private sphere of family and kinship to maintain the stability and security they valued. Most were well aware of labour market conditions in a number of destinations and a majority had already experienced collective seasonal or permanent migrations prior to their arrival in the colony. On this account, newcomers can hardly be described as isolated individuals shaped by tradition

¹ Charles Tilly, "Transplanted Networks", in Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (ed.), Immigration Reconsidered, p. 85.

or a status-striving people on the make. Instead, they were products of specific social categories and regions and had adjusted their goals and behaviour to the new economic realities. Never entirely incapable of purposeful action, migrants manoeuvred within severely restricted circumstances and formulated a limited response which reflected familial needs and homeland priorities. When confronted with the possibility of choice they had elected to leave Ireland, forming part of an emigrant stream that was structured and selective by origin and type of emigrant. As I argued in Chapter One, the inflow to Canterbury represented a small part of a mass movement of clusters of people linked to one another by acquaintance and kinship ties for whom the province somehow became a viable mobility alternative at a critical stage in their lives.

To some extent the choice of emigration was a rational response to economic exigencies, for it partly constituted an attempt to enhance personal and material advancement by exploiting new opportunities unavailable at home. However, the "calculus of advantage" encompassed much more than the accumulation of capital. It included intangible social and cultural variables such as familialism that had the potential to provide equally desirable sources of satisfaction and well-being in a new environment.² While they self-consciously sought to achieve their economic goals, no matter how modest or pretentious, immigrants maintained close contacts with kinfolk in Ireland. They nominated relatives for passages to the colony, sent remittances and correspondence back to Ireland, and strongly emphasised familial mutualism in Christchurch. Clearly,

² This is a point well made by James A. Henretta in his seminal article, "Families and Farms: *Mentalité* in Pre-Industrial America", William and Mary Quarterly 35 (1978): 3-32.

a complex relationship existed between traditional social values and the market place. In order to reconcile the competing demands of personal ambitions on one hand, and the social reality of kinship and community bonds on the other, immigrants developed coping strategies which enabled them to shape these forms of human interaction co-existing simultaneously in their lives. Their social agency consisted in this ability to alter the circumstances of their social life, together with a capacity for knowledge and self-reflection.

It would be a mistake, however, to label Irish Catholic settlement a wholesale transplantation of an Irish rural community. In Christchurch, the recreation of previously existing modes of action was only partial. Nonetheless, Irish Catholics gained some degree of control over the structurally induced uncertainty of their socio-economic environment by modifying and mobilizing a multifarious array of resources. Ascriptive social networks, for example, were always deeply implicated in the process of migration and played a vital adaptive role in the immigrant experience. They endured long after the crossing and provided an important basis for mutual assistance and solidarity. The interpersonal connections, forged by persisting familial collectivism, were further extended both by subsequent migratory activity and by high rates of intermarriage across Irish networks which increased the number of potential and actual social links. Such were the effects of these processes that existing categories were transformed to new purposes and expressed in the partial fusion of kinship and ethnic roles. Viewed from this perspective, ethnic identification was primarily a strategic response to the situational demands of colonial society. It involved the creative transposition and maximization of

specific cultural resources that not only empowered and constrained social action, but were also reproduced by that action. This configuration was clearly evident in the patterned social practices of reciprocally oriented and dependent persons pursuing their own purposes in a number of different contexts.

The dynamic, familial and socially-embedded nature of the Catholic Irish experience in nineteenth-century Christchurch does not support assimilationist or reactive interpretations of ethnic identification. Immigrant adjustment was not simply a linear progression in the direction of a dominant colonial culture. Neither was it a defensive reaction to the discrimination and disdain of ethnocentric Protestant élites. On the contrary, levels of anti-Irish sentiment, inter-ethnic violence and political competition were relatively low in the city and had no enduring consequences. A brief comparison with patterns of Irish settlement in northeastern U.S. cities will illustrate this point.³ Whereas impoverished Famine-era refugees formed the basis of Irish population in these localities, corresponding movement to Christchurch was almost wholly a post-Famine activity. Newcomers who arrived in the city were more religiously engaged than those in the United States, which included unchurched remnants of the pre-Famine flow as well as emaciated survivors of "the misery". Moreover, a substantial minority of local Irish had savoured colonial life at other migrant destinations before their arrival in New Zealand and were much better equipped to deal with the demands of a new society. Although poor in comparison with their co-residents, at least initially, these immigrants

³ See, for example, David A. Gerber, The Making of an American Pluralism: Buffalo, New York, 1825-60, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), ch. 6.

experienced nothing approaching the terrible poverty and insecurity suffered by their North American counterparts at mid-century, nor the opprobrium heaped upon them by intensely hostile native-born Protestants. By contrast, the expansion of extensive pastoralism and mixed-crop-livestock farming in Canterbury engendered powerful continuities for immigrants already accustomed to the requirements of seasonal labour migration and the modernizing forces of agrarian capitalism. As this thesis has shown, the province offered land hungry Irish Catholics with far greater opportunities to acquire an independence on the land, a way of life more amenable to intra-communal peasant norms and an environment that was less bewildering to penniless, unskilled newcomers. In consequence, theirs was an easier accommodation to new realities. But it was not actuated without tensions or ambiguity.

By far the most important basis for mobilizing and sustaining Irish ethnicity in Christchurch and its environs was religion. Roman Catholicism was a socially shared and structured belief system that established practices of communication and interpretation necessary for social action. These multiple possibilities were realised in micro-level contexts where the parish church played a crucial role. The development of various formal institutions and associations such as parochial schools and confraternities took place under its beneficent guidance, effectively increasing the range of Irish structural separation from colonial society. A further consequence of formal ethno-religious activity was that it heightened identification with the ethnic community and reinforced the cohesiveness of already existing social networks. Even intense intra-group struggle between rival priestly factions and laity over the shape Roman

Catholicism would assume in the colony failed to undermine an emerging sense of commitment to a shared present. Rather, it seems true to say that internal conflict served an integrative function because it energized the Irish community and actuated deeper involvement of rank-and-file immigrants in the affairs of the group. As a result, the immigrants began to perceive themselves in terms of a broad ethno-religious grouping through which they articulated needs, regulated interactions and appropriated space for purposeful action.

What is the significance of these findings? In advancing my arguments, I have been conscious of writing against the weight of New Zealand historiography which holds that ethnicity is an inappropriate tool for exploring the past. Implicit in this case study is a profound sense of discomfort with the cultural silences engendered by received wisdom and its dominant metaphors. On a more positive level, however, my account of the Irish Catholic experience in nineteenth-century Christchurch is a practical contribution to the future study of ethnic groups in colonial society. In place of bi-culturalism, I propose a fundamentally different approach to our past which is neither determinate nor reductionist, but open to the historical and cultural plurality of categories of thought and modes of action. Any such research programme should be structivist in orientation, seeking to explain the complex interrelationship of social structure, personal agency and human action. And central to this type of social analysis is an underlying insistence that "structuring" is a continuous process of construction in time, which cannot be historicised without reflecting

back upon the structure of lived experience.⁴

Throughout this thesis, I have attempted to develop various self-reflective explanatory strategies which would allow recognition and evaluation of complexity and open-endedness of social phenomena. My interpretation is broadly empirical by virtue of its reliance on evidence. But it seeks to transcend the determinacy of prevailing orthodoxies by building on the theoretically considered assumption that the intentional actions of knowledgeable human agents are open to contextual variations and multiple interpretations.⁵ Such an approach to the study of ethnicity is broadly interactionist, problem-oriented, and structurationist in perspective and performance. Its fundamental concern is to understand one specific aspect of human experience in terms of "the problematic of structuring".⁶ And it seeks actively to oppose the procrustean character of bi-culturalism with anti-essentialism and heterogeneity.

Closely connected with my critique of bi-cultural dualism is a critique of the "primordial fallacy", which holds that ethnicity is a self-evident given of social existence. Against this, I argue that ethnicity is a social formation that can only be apprehended historically, in action. Primordialist interpretations of ethnic phenomena ultimately fail because of their rigid explanatory premises which set the goals and purposes of social actors thereby making them appear "cultural dopes". My quarrel with Irish-American historiography, in particular, is

⁴ Abrams, Historical Sociology, pp. 7-8.

⁵ See James Bohman, New Philosophy of Social Science: Problems of Indeterminacy, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), esp. pp. 1-15, 102-145, 232-38.

⁶ Abrams, Historical Sociology, pp. xv-xviii.

that its fatalistic determinism locates sources of meanings and actions outside the conscious volition of human subjects. In this conception, social agency is effectively aborted and people's capacity for rationality is removed. By contrast, my approach is agential in that it situates the power to effect change within knowledgeable human agents who capably negotiated structured spatiotemporal milieux.

In the final analysis, Irish Catholic immigrants in nineteenth-century Christchurch were not the "unhappy exiles" who populate Kerby Miller's history of the Irish experience in North America. On the contrary, these newcomers competently evaluated options and possible outcomes in a coherent, consistent and practical manner. By sustaining and regenerating concerted action they gained a limited degree of social power, creating fundamentally new social arrangements of rules, roles and relations. The structuring of ethnic solidarity was not actuated without struggle. But the final outcome was less a triumph of atomization than the continued reassertion of communal values and social relationships. Notwithstanding recurrent tensions wrought by massive socio-economic changes, immigrant behaviour disclosed powerful continuities and adaptations expressed in a high degree of institutional separatism.

First and foremost, Irish Catholics were purposive agents deeply involved in the recursive ordering of lived-through experience.⁷ Though socially constrained and organised by the ensemble of rules, resources, roles and meanings into which they were born, they reproduced and transformed pre-

⁷ I am indebted here to Anthony Giddens, New Rules of Sociological Method, pp. 102-129.

existing social practices in the concrete activities of their day-to-day lives. In the process of this performance immigrants initiated change, but not on terms entirely of their own choosing or in ways that they wholly comprehended or intended; they made history, but history carried them along.

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3. Lands and Deeds Office, Christchurch
4. National Archives, Christchurch

CH 171 Probate and Letters of Administration Files (Wills)
CH 214 Official Assignee in Bankruptcy Files
CH 287 Canterbury Provincial Government Archives

- Inward Correspondence, Provincial Secretary, CP 1-182, 1853-77
- Provincial Secretary, Secretary For Public Works, Railway Office: Immigration, CP 327c.-333c., 1874-76
- Provincial Secretary: Registers of Inwards Correspondence, CP 402-414, 1853-77
- Superintendent: Outwards Correspondence, CP 441-CP 461, 1853-77

CH 290 Retrospective Nominal Index of Purchasers Of Rural Sections

CH 291 Testamentary Registers (Inland Revenue Department)

5. National Archives, Wellington

Canterbury Archives, Immigration Department (Im-CH)

- Series 1 Departmental Index of Inwards Letters, 1871-1889
- Series 2 Outwards Letters, 1872-1884
- Series 3 Lists of Immigrants
- Series 4 Passenger Lists, 1855-1884
- Series 5 Promissory Notes and Bills, 1854-1878
- Series 6 Accounts, 1862-1893

General Government, Immigration Department (Im)

- Series 8 Outwards Letters
- Series 10 Nominated Immigrants: Lists of Passage Orders
- Series 11 Promissory Notes and Bills

II. *Manuscripts*

1. Canterbury Public Library

- i. Baptismal Transcripts, Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament, 1870-1904
- ii. Baptismal Transcripts, Roman Catholic Station of the Assumption, 1844-69
- iii. Baptismal, Burial and Confirmation Transcripts, Shand's Track, 1871-78

- iv. Burial Transcripts, Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament, 1901-1918
 - v. Marriage Transcripts, Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament, 1860-1924
 - vi. Roman Catholic Church, Akaroa: Transcripts of Baptisms (1889-1913) and Burials (1892-1910)
 - vii. Roman Catholic Church, Banks Peninsula: Transcripts of Baptisms, Burials, Confirmations, 1878-1920
 - viii. Roman Catholic Church, Lyttelton/Akaroa: Transcripts of Baptisms (1871-78) and Burials (1865-77)
 - ix. Western Oceania Mission of Akaroa: Transcripts of Baptisms, Burials, Confirmations, and Marriages
 - x. Transcript of Father Séon's Travelling Notebook, Banks Peninsula and Christchurch, 1858-59
- 2. Christchurch Roman Catholic Diocesan Archives
 - 3. Dunedin Roman Catholic Diocesan Archives
 - 4. Marist Archives, Wellington
 - 5. Wellington Roman Catholic Archdiocesan Archives

III. *Published Official Papers*

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IV. *Contemporary Newspapers, Directories and Periodicals*

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Plate 19 The Grave of Thomas and Mary Henley, Lincoln Cemetery
Photograph by Lyndon Fraser

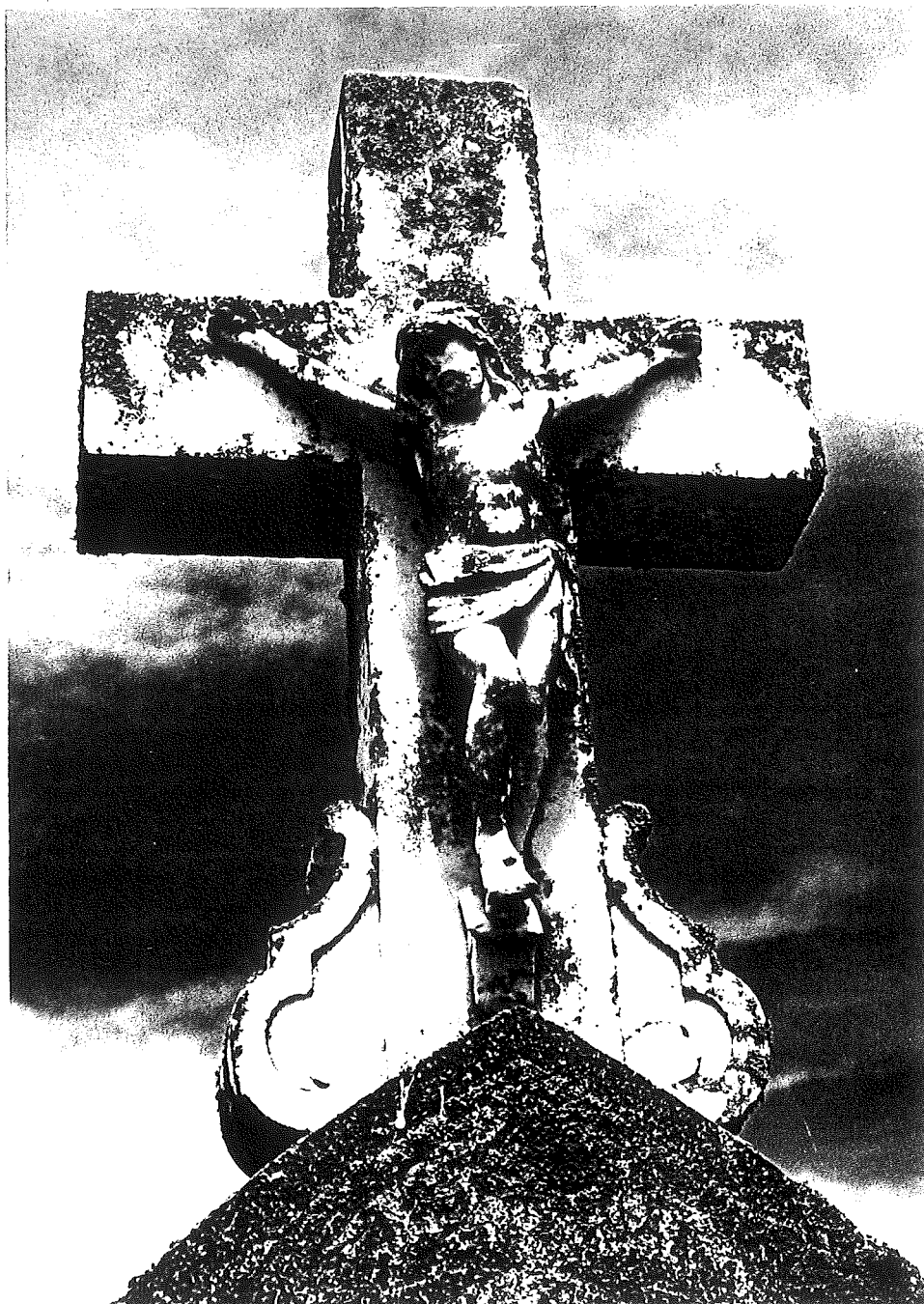


Plate 20 Requiescat in pace, Lincoln Cemetery Photograph by Lyndon Fraser